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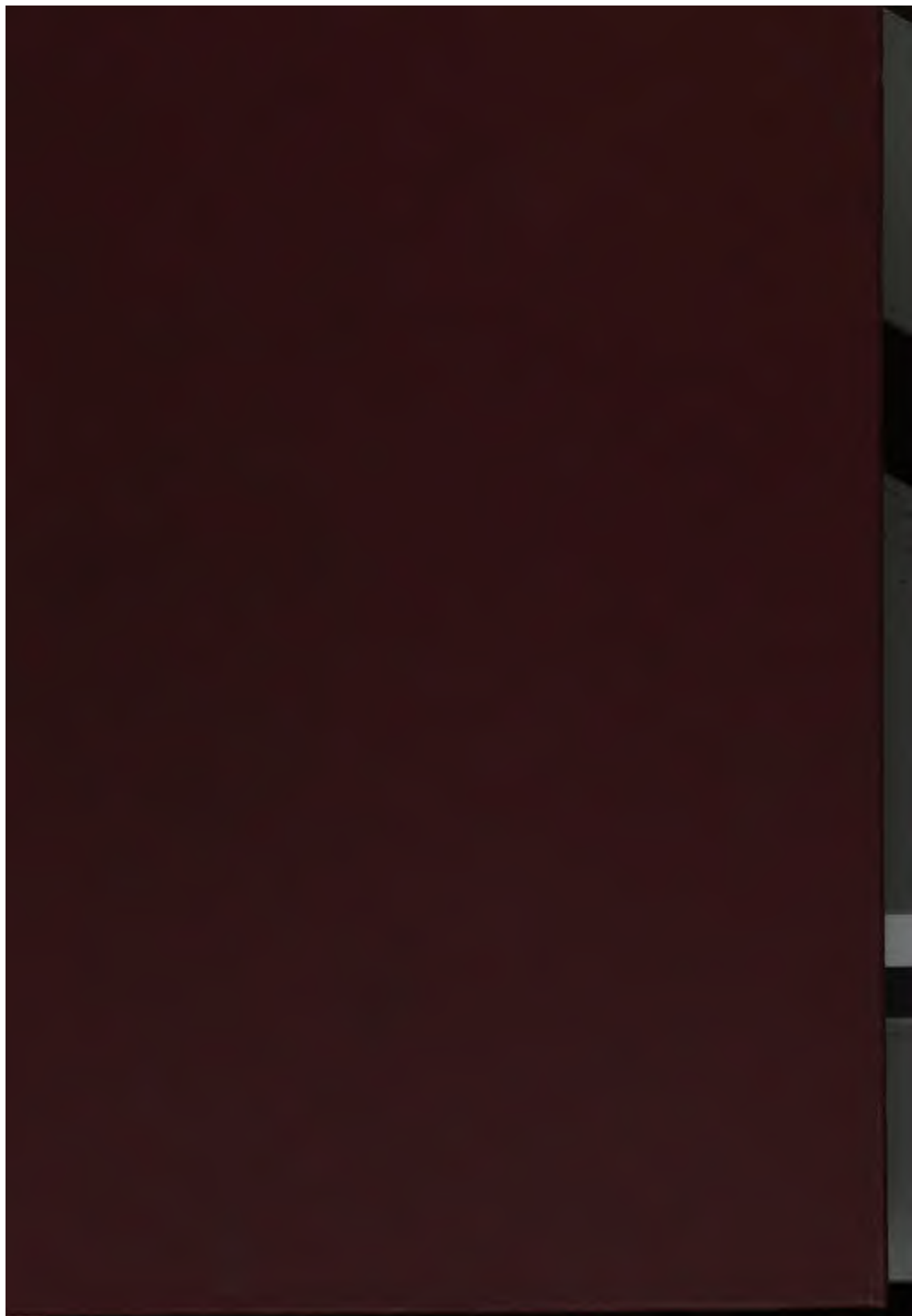
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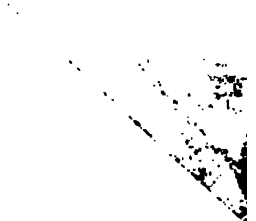
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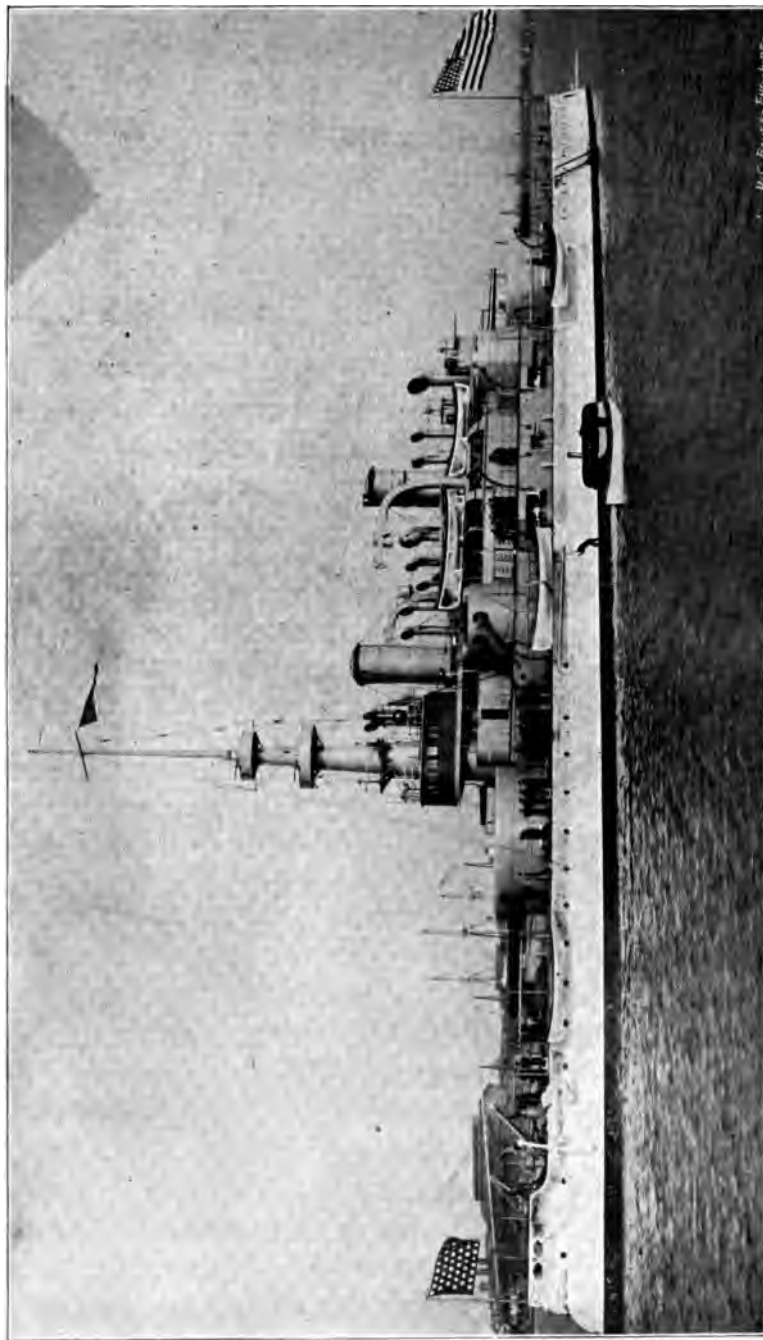






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THE BATTLESHIP INDIANA.

D. C. BURKE, PHOTOGRAPHER

THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
STATE OF INDIANA

FROM THE  
Earliest Explorations by the French to  
the Present Time.

---

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL  
CIVIL, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY  
EVENTS, FROM 1763  
TO 1897.

BY  
WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

VOLUME I.

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1897.  
THE B. L. BLAIR COMPANY  
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TO  
HON. ROBERT B. F. PEIRCE,  
WHOSE SERVICES  
TO THE PUBLIC AND WHOSE PRIVATE LIFE HAVE REFLECTED  
HONOR UPON INDIANA,  
AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF REMEMBRANCE OF HIS YEARS  
OF FAITHFUL FRIENDSHIP, AND AS AN  
ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS  
GENEROUS ENCOURAGEMENT AND HELP WHILE  
PREPARING THIS WORK,  
THESE VOLUMES ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

THE AUTHOR.

*“A little one shall become a thousand,  
And a small one shall become a strong nation.”*

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## INTRODUCTION.

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To follow the growth of a State or Nation is always an interesting employment. It is as full of interest as watching the development of a child, and to follow that development from childhood on through life. For nearly forty years the most of my time has been given to newspaper work, either as an editorial writer or as a correspondent, and during all that time I have been somewhat intimately identified with public affairs in Indiana. My father, who was a Hoosier by birth, born in Indiana's early Territorial days, and who lived within the boundaries of the State for three quarters of a century, early instilled in my mind a love for the State of our birth, and a pride in the great strides she has made since he first saw the light in the wilderness. That love for Indiana has always followed me.

In my work as newspaper correspondent I was often forcibly impressed by the great lack of information I found almost everywhere in regard to the great resources for wealth the State contained. I also found that as a people we seemingly took little pride in the great achievements in science, literature and art of some of our citizens. I could find hundreds of people who could tell me much of Morton, of Hendricks, of Voorhees, but few who knew of Tipton, of Jennings, and of Benjamin Parke; many who knew something of Eads, of Admiral Collins, and of John Clark Ridpath, but they either did not know that these men were sons

of Indiana, or had not stopped to measure the honor and dignity they have conferred upon the State. Of Wallace and Riley they knew, but did not realize that one stands at the head of the fiction writers of the century, and that the other is a poet more generally read and appreciated by the common people than any writer of verse yet produced by America.

I found, too, that but few believed that Indiana had a history worth writing about. It is a sort of creed with the public that great politicians, statesmen or soldiers are the sole source of State pride. A State that has produced a Morton, a Hendricks, a Harrison, a Whitcomb, a Marshall, a Wright, a Kennedy, an Owen, a Lane, may well be proud of them; but Indiana has other sources of pride, equal if not greater than is found in the list mentioned. Before the State was twenty years old she established a banking system that was a model for the whole country, and it was established, too, by men new to great financial achievements, and not by men who had grown gray in learning the science of successful banking. When the Nation was in the throes of civil war, and when it was necessary to produce a currency to take the place of the gold and silver which had fled into hiding, and organize a safe and secure banking system for the whole country, it was not to Wall street, or to Boston, or to any of the great financial centers of the country the Government turned to find a man to organize and put into successful operation the banking system which had been devised, but it was to Indiana, and Hugh McCulloch was called from his Indiana banking house to Washington, and he is the only man in the Nation's history who was called three times, and by as many different Presidents, to preside at the head of the Treasury Department of the Government.

It was an Indiana-trained financier, Mr. J. F. D. Lanier, who in connection with his partner, did more in the early days to encourage and aid in the building of railroads than any other man in the Nation, and when the capitalists of the old world refused to invest in the bonds of our Government during the war, it was this same Indiana-trained financier who was sent across the ocean to the great financial centers to establish our Nation's credit among the moneyed men of Europe.

Indiana has established and maintained one of the most complete and perfect systems of common schools in all the land. Nor has she been behind her sister commonwealths in sending forth men of learning; great theologians and lawyers. She was the first State in the Union to provide for a State institution for the care and treatment of the insane, and the first to establish a separate prison for women. She has been always among the first in her care of the unfortunate, her benevolent enterprises taking rank among the great institutions of the kind in the world.

Her cities, of almost magical growth; her industrious, thrifty and prosperous people; the record made by her gallant soldiers and sailors; the liberality of her people in caring for the families of those who went forth in the service of the Union; her wonderful sources of material wealth; all these have made the word "Hoosier" an honored term, and no one now sneers at Indiana. She has a history—a history that reads like the pages of romance; a history in pioneer life, in achievements—grand achievements—in science, literature, art, and war.

When the thought of writing a history of Indiana first came to me I cannot tell, but it has always been with me, has been a part of my growth. After I had collected much

of the data from which this work has been prepared, one of the eminent teachers of the State said to me that what Indiana needed was a history that could be used in the schools as a book of reference, from which the growing generation might gather something not only of the story of the early settlement of the Territory and its struggles for political existence, but about what the State is at the present time, about its resources, its development into a mighty empire of itself. I have attempted to prepare such a work. Whether I have succeeded or failed the future is to determine.

I cannot make acknowledgment to all who have helped me, but it would be unjust if I failed to acknowledge the obligations I am under to some now living, and to others who have passed away. In preparing for my work I freely consulted all that has been written on Indiana, that I could find, and have especially conned such old files of newspapers as came within my reach. In preparing the chapters devoted to the earlier explorations and settlements I especially studied the writings of Mr. John B. Dillon and Mr. Jacob P. Dunn. The work of the latter is especially valuable on account of its full and exhaustive treatment of the slavery question and the attempts made to fasten that institution on the people of the Territory and State.

The aim of this work is to show what Indiana is at present, and to trace the growth, rather than to elaborate the historical facts connected with the earlier settlement, hence I have preferred to give, in as brief a manner as possible, the important facts of those years, and leave those who desire to study more fully the details, to examine the works of Mr. Dunn and Hon. W. H. English. I have not attempted to settle any of the disputed facts as to when and where the

first settlements were made, but have given the story as in my judgment the weight of authority rests.

Of matters in connection with the later history of the State, a field over which no other writer has gleaned, I have cut out the road for myself, and in this part of the work I have had the cheerful assistance of many persons, among them being Gen. John Coburn, Mr. Volney T. Malott, Judge Daniel Waite Howe, James Whitcomb Riley, Hon. W. D. Owen, Professor W. S. Blatchley, Professor W. E. Henry, and Professor Stanley Coulter. Had it not been for the cheering words and kind encouragement I received from many actively engaged in the cause of education, and from those interested in the history of the State, I would have abandoned the work long before its completion, so inadequate did I feel to the task I had set myself. The work has been one of love. I have given to it my best efforts. I have endeavored to be conscientious and to give the history of the State as it appeared to me after devoting myself to its careful study. It is written, and I submit it to the judgment of the people of Indiana.

THE AUTHOR.



## CHAPTER I.

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### EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENT.

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When Columbus, in 1492, returned to Europe with the news that he had discovered a new world, peopled with a strange race, such as had no counterpart in any of the older portions of the globe, he turned loose a number of hardy and adventurous navigators, who sailed north, south and west to make new discoveries. Columbus had set out with the expectation and hope of discovering a new and shorter, and safer route to the Indies, and the adventurous navigators who followed him had the same object uppermost in their minds. No one thought of sending out colonies to the new world; all minds were intent on finding the long-sought for and much desired new passage. Up and down the coast went those hardy seamen, peering into bays and inlets, forcing their way up rivers, all intent on finding the waterway across the continent they all believed existed. Spain soon heard of gold and silver in the new world, and from that moment the Spaniards had but one thought, and that was to obtain possession of that gold. To accomplish that they would undertake any adventure, suffer any hardship. On the islands first discovered they established small colonies, but with no intent of permanent occupation of the country, but to make supply stations for their expeditions in the quest for gold. The English were not a



colonizing people. They were content with their own Island, and their claims to portions of France. Their seamen, however, were the most adventurous of any, and varied their search for the new passage by capturing Spanish galleons with their precious cargoes.

Nearly a century elapsed after the discovery of America before a colony from any European nation was settled on the main land. In 1565 Spain, in her quest for gold, planted a small colony at St. Augustine, Florida. Thirty-nine years later, 1604, the French made their first effort at colonization, at Port Royal, Acadia, now Nova Scotia, and in 1607 the first English colonist landed at Jamestown. That at Port Royal was only intended as a sort of relay station for the expeditions in search of the new passage, as that at St. Augustine was for the furnishing of supplies for the gold-seekers. The English, however, came with the sole intent of settling in this new world, and building for themselves a home. They contented themselves with settling along the coast, and made but little effort to penetrate far into the interior. They thought, too, but little of trading with the natives, not deeming it possible the savages had anything a civilized man would desire. A new home was all they were after. The Spaniards pushed into the interior from St. Augustine in search for gold; the French explored the rivers and bays, still dreaming of a short road to Cathay. On the ocean the bold and hardy adventurer was the Englishman, but his boldness and love of adventure ceased when he settled on land, and it was left to the Frenchman to carry explorations over rivers and mountains and lakes, through forests and across prairies. With the Frenchman it was at first more of a religious crusade than a permanent settlement of the country. When he erected the banner of his

King. in token of taking possession of the country in the name of his master, he also erected the cross, to emphasize that he bore to the natives a new religion.

The missionaries of the cross pushed out in advance of the hardy explorer, carrying to the aborigines the strange story of the God who died for man. They were filled with a zeal that nothing could daunt. No hardship was too great, no peril too imminent to stop them. They gave names to our rivers, lakes and mountains. They scattered the names of their saints around with almost reckless profusion. At one time it was common for the Frenchman to scoff at England as being a nation of traders or shopkeepers, but in the settlement of America the French took largely the lead of all others in opening up trade with the Red Man. As has been said the English colonist was content to settle along the Atlantic coast, to plough and dig, and endeavor to get a living from the virgin soil, and look to the old country for all other supplies. Hardly, however, would a French colony be established than the courier du bois, or "wood ranger" with his rifle over his shoulder, and a scanty supply of provisions, would start out in search of peltries. If he came to a lake or river, he made a canoe, and with that paddled along hundreds of miles from any others of his race. When he had secured his load of peltries he would return to his starting point, dispose of them to the trader, get a new supply of ammunition, and squander the rest of his money in a few days of riotous living, and then return again to the wild woods and wild life. Everywhere he made friends with the natives; married their maidens, and contested in athletic sports with the warriors. On his return to his civilized fellow men he would have strange tales to tell of the wonderful countries he had seen.

Following closely in the wake of the courier du bois, and sometimes far in advance of him, would be found the faithful and zealous missionary. Thus, by these two classes, much of the great continent of America was explored. When, for the first time, a white man trod this part of the United States, now known as Indiana, is not definitely certain. It is not a matter of very great importance, yet much has been written on the subject. From the known adventurous disposition of the courier du bois, it is highly probable that it was not very long after the settlement of Montreal and Quebec that they found their way across Lake Erie, and through what is now Northern Indiana. They were, doubtless, soon followed by the missionary, for when the first settlers came they found that some of the rivers were known to the Indians, by French names. This was notably the case with the St. Mary and St. Joseph. In 1657, Sanson, the Royal Geographer of France made a map of New France, on which the Maumee River is correctly delineated, thus showing that prior to that time some one had visited and navigated that stream, and had mapped it with the adjacent country.

In 1669 Robert Cavalier, Chevalier de LaSalle, started from Canada, in quest of the "great river," stories of which he had heard from the Indians, being convinced that if such a river existed it would lead him on the way to the Indies. There can be hardly a doubt that in his journey he crossed either northern Indiana, or skirted her southern boundary, but he has left no record of it. He returned by way of the Wabash, and after his return set up a claim to vast tracts of lands in this region, and devised those lands to his heirs by will. It is fairly well settled that a trading post was established on the St. Joseph of the lakes as early as 1672. It

was in no sense of the word a permanent settlement, but only a trading post. It was near the principal towns of the Miamis, and furnished a most advantageous point for trading for peltries. Nor was it even a permanent trading post, for it was not marked on any of the earlier maps, and the French explorers, and makers of maps were exceedingly careful to mark all points at which posts or settlements had been established, as such settlements or posts were the visible evidences of their claims to the country. Joliet's "Larger Map," dated 1674, marks the Ohio River and calls it "Route du Sieur de la Salle, pour aller dans le Mexique." His "Smaller Map" has the Ohio also traced, with an inscription to the effect that the river had been explored by La Salle. There is still another map in existence, evidently made prior to 1673, which shows the course and direction of the Ohio. It also bears an inscription that the river had been navigated by La Salle. It was on the explorations of La Salle that the French government based its claims to the country, but on none of those maps is there a mark showing that at any point in Indiana was there a French settlement of any kind.

But there are still stronger evidences that no such settlements existed at that early date. Franquelin's map of 1684, and D'Anville's map of "LaSalle's explorations from 1679 to 1683," give the courses of the various streams in Indiana, the Ohio, Wabash, Eel, Tippecanoe, and others, with more or less exactness, the latter being especially full and correct, but neither of them mark a single Indian or French settlement. The Indians had been driven away, prior to that time, by the Iroquois, and had not returned. This fact was evidently known to La Salle, and as the maps were made from his tracings, they bear the very best testimony to the

fact that neither Indians nor whites were located in Indiana at that time. At all other points, both Indian and French settlements are marked with great care. It is hardly possible that La Salle, exploring the country by the order of his King, would have so carefully marked Indian and white settlements in one part of the country, and wholly neglected to designate those in this section. From all the records then, it may be put down as certain, that prior to 1684 there were no French settlements in Indiana, and there is nothing but tradition upon which to found a claim that any such were made for a number of years after that period.

It is also evident that prior to 1669 no explorations had been made south of the lakes. It is highly probable that the Canadian trappers, and perhaps, missionaries had traversed a part of the country lying south of the lakes, but if so they have left no record of it, and while the courier du bois was careless of such matters, the missionaries, filled with zeal for their country as well as for the church, and being taught to record their journeys and discoveries, would hardly have failed to make some note of their visits to this unknown section, had such visits been made. The only record we have of such visits by any person is the map of Sanson, before referred to. It traces the Maumee, but makes no mention of the St. Joseph or St. Mary, and from that fact we are safe in concluding that whoever made the visit, on which the map was predicated, did it hastily, and got no further into the interior of the country than the head of the Maumee. It is also possible that they only actually traced that stream a few miles from its mouth, and from the general course of it and from Indian testimony, carried it on the map much farther than they had personally explored it. In those early days many parts of the maps that were made were based

upon just such conjectures. Take Franquelin's map, as a sample. It was prepared with great care, and was officially endorsed, yet the courses of the various streams are much out of the true way. Taking all these things into consideration, it is by no means certain, then, notwithstanding the Maumee is marked on the Sanson map, that any explorer had actually followed it from the lake to its head.

There is also some confusion as to the actual time when La Salle first visited the State. It has been claimed that he crossed the northern corner of the State on his first expedition, but there is little evidence on which to base such a claim. It is not a matter of any great moment, whether he did or not, for he made no attempt at establishing any settlements, and his real object in his journey was to discover the "Great River," and determine whether it was the much sought for highway to the Indies, and his secondary object was to investigate the desirability of the country as to trade. Let us now follow the intrepid La Salle on his exploring tour. He was the ablest, bravest, and most devoted of all those Frenchmen who displayed such contempt for danger and hardship in traversing this great unknown country, and was worthy of a better fate than to fall by the hands of a cowardly assassin.

The very time of his setting out on his first expedition is clouded in uncertainty. Henri Joutel, in speaking of him, says that he spent twenty years in his explorations. He was assassinated in 1687. Twenty years would carry him back to 1667. Joutel might have been speaking in general terms, and not pretending to be exact to a year. In 1677 La Salle in a memorial to the King, and speaking in the third person, says: "In the year 1667, and those following, he made divers voyages, with much expense, in which he, for the first time

explored many countries to the south of the great lakes, and among others the great river of the Ohio." This is a plain and definite statement that he began his explorations in 1667. The earliest written mention of his departure from Canada on his explorations, is found in a letter dated November 11, 1669. This letter was written by Sieur Patoulet, and in it he says that La Salle and his party had set out with a design to explore a passage to China and Japan. They left La Chine in July, 1669. The question is, was this his first expedition, or did he actually make one in 1667? La Salle was a very careful man, and made elaborate notes of all he saw and did. No records exist showing that he made any such expedition in 1667. Therefore the first expedition we have to consider is that of 1669. As has been said, he left La Chine in July of that year. He proceeded to the western extremity of Lake Ontario, and there met Louis Joliet, who was returning from an unsuccessful search for the lost copper mines of Lake Superior. He gave such an account of his search, and the country through which he had journeyed as to divide La Salle's party as to whither they should turn their attention. The priests who were with him finally decided to go to the north, over the route traveled by Joliet. La Salle still clung to his design to find, if possible, the "Great River," and determine the question of whether it led to China and Japan, and his little party divided.

From this point his journeyings are lost in uncertainty, owing, probably, to the fact that after his return his vessel was lost in the lake, with all his manuscripts. It has been contended that he went from Ontario to Lake Erie, and skirting along its shores discovered the mouth of the Maumee, and ascended that stream and from it found a portage to the Wabash, and then followed that stream to the Ohio.

In support of this claim it has been argued that he had trading as well as discovery in view, and that he had heard from the courier du bois of the great advantages for trading to be found at the head of the Maumee, as the principal villages of the Miamis were located at that point, and that the country was full of beavers, and other fur bearing animals, and also that from them he had learned of the short portage to the Wabash, and that that stream would lead him to the "Great River." These were the inducements that have been supposed to have led him to adopt that route. The almost continuous waterway to the "Great River" would have been a strong inducement, as it would furnish the easiest means of transportation, and would be far preferable to a long journey through trackless forests, with the added dangers from the Indians. The best evidence, however, is that he passed from Ontario to the Alleghany River, and from that to the Ohio, for there can be no question that he traced the Ohio its full length. He laid claim to having done so, and his government claimed the country because of his explorations. The English made expeditions to the Kanawha in 1671 and set up a claim to the Ohio valley because of them, but the French contended that La Salle's discoveries antedated theirs.

In 1680 La Salle built Fort Crevecoeur, and according to his statement and that of the Marquis de Denonville, had for several years prior to that time maintained an important canoe trade with the Ohio and Oubache, called St. Jerome, in France. La Salle had not at that time adopted the Iroquois name of "Ohio," but had given that river the name of Baudrane. The French claims were based on his discoveries made prior to 1671, and if he knew nothing of the river except below the mouth of the Wabash their claim would have



been but of little value. He claimed to have discovered the river, and that claim is no longer disputed by historians, and if he did discover it, it must have been in 1669, and that ought to settle the fact as to which route he took in that year. It is highly probable that on his return he ascended the Wabash to the portage and then crossed to the Maumee. In fact there can be little doubt remaining on that point. He claims to have discovered the portage. In 1681 he drew up his will, and in that important document he set out that he had discovered a way to the Mississippi by the head of Lake Erie, but had abandoned it because it had become too dangerous owing to the presence of the Iroquois. Pere Allouez, in 1680 referred to the portage from the Maumee to the Wabash, and says it was a shorter route to the Mississippi than the one usually taken by the St. Joseph of the Lake and the Kankakee.

For several years La Salle carried on a very large trade with the Indians on the Wabash and the Ohio, and that trade was interrupted by the incursions of the fierce and bloody Iroquois, who sought to drive the Miamis from these favorite hunting and trapping grounds. He did not, however, build any forts or establish any permanent trading posts within the limits of Indiana. His principal post was Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois River, and around that post he gathered the various tribes that had been driven from their homes on the Wabash and Maumee by the Iroquois. In the midst of his great cares, and his growing traffic with the Indians, and his desire for gain, he never lost sight of his one great scheme to fully explore the Mississippi from its source to its mouth. He pursued that with unabated ardor, and under great discouragements, and finally lost his life. La Salle was the first white man to skirt the southern border

of Indiana, which he did in 1669, and also the first white man to make known to the world the country around the headwaters of the Maumee.

It is about as difficult to determine when the first actual settlement of the whites was made in Indiana, as to determine the exact time and route of the early explorers. For Fort Wayne it has been claimed that it had become an important trading post as early as 1672, and for Vincennes several dates have been fixed, for its first occupation, extending over more than half a century. According to one tradition, French traders visited the site of Vincennes as early as 1690, and that many of them remained there, marrying among the Indians, and raising families. Another tradition puts the first arrival of the traders or explorers in 1680. Still another is to the effect that a party of French Canadians, in 1702, descended the Wabash River, and established several posts, Vincennes being one of them. The historians of the Maumee Valley claim that the first post was established on the present site of Fort Wayne. A part of the confusion which exists as to Fort Wayne has been caused through the misapprehension as to certain visits of the French missionaries. The missionaries left records of their work among the Miami Indians, and as the main villages of the Miamis, when record history first begins, were around the headwaters of the Maumee, it has been taken for granted that the labors of the missionaries were at that point. The Miamis first lived around Green Bay, Wisconsin, and when the larger part of the tribe migrated to Indiana and Ohio, a remnant remained at Green Bay. It was among that remnant the missionaries labored.

As has been already stated the maps covering the explorations up to 1684, show no settlements anywhere in In-

diana, and from the importance attached by the French Government to all such settlements, the conclusion is irresistible that prior to that time no such settlements existed. On the Wabash near the present site of Vincennes was an important Indian village, known as Chip-kaw-kay, and it is highly probable that when the first French settlers arrived they heard stories of prior visits made by traders, and after a lapse of time, those traditions became transposed into facts relating to the first actual settlement. To hold their claim upon the Mississippi Valley, the French, in 1702, determined to establish some posts along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and M. Juchereau did erect a fort at the mouth of the Ohio. Some writers have attempted to claim that Vincennes was the site of this fort, but all the records oppose such a view.

M. de Denonville adds to the confusion. In a memoir on the French possessions in North America, dated the 8th of March, 1688, he says the French at that time had "divers establishments," on the Mississippi, "as well as on that of the Oyo, Oubache, etc., which flows into the said River Mississippi." What he meant by the term "divers establishments," is doubtful. That La Salle, and probably others, had, prior to that time, visited the Indian villages and traded with them, is well settled, and it is probable that M. de Denonville had in mind only that those traders had made friendly relations with the Indians, whereby the various hunters and trappers, roaming the country, could take to the villages their accumulations of peltries until such times as they could be shipped to Canada. He certainly could not have meant that the French had established any permanent posts or colonies on the Wabash, or even on the Ohio. In fact, up to that time the Wabash country was in such a

state of alarm from the incursions of the Iroquois that it would have been dangerous, if not practically impossible, to have attempted to make any settlements by the whites.

If there was one man above another who was interested in establishing such posts, it was La Salle. He was endeavoring to build up an exclusive trade with the entire Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. He was on friendly terms with the Miamis of Indiana and the Illinois of Illinois. The Iroquois from the east were preparing to war against the Illinois and the Miamis, in 1682, and La Salle used all his efforts to get those tribes to form a confederation and settle around Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois, and finally succeeded in getting all the Indians of Indiana to remove to that place. The Iroquois would not trade with La Salle, and they only had roaming parties of warriors in Indiana, and along the Wabash. The French could have made no settlements there without protecting them with a heavy military force. The Indians did not return to Indiana until about 1712. So it seems that by the term "divers establishments," M. de Denonville, did not mean permanent settlements or posts.

In 1715 rumors began to circulate that the English were moving to occupy this country. Hitherto there had been no necessity for permanent settlements, all that the French traders needed being friendly relations with the Indians, but now, when the hated English threatened to encroach on their territory and lay claim to it, it was time to do something more than hunt, trap and trade among the Indians and make maps. Permanent posts, occupied by people holding allegiance to the French King, and flying the French flag were needed. Then it was the French Governors of Louisiana and Canada began to send out their agents to select places for posts and settlements.

Among those sent out was Jean Baptiste Bissot, Sieur de Vincent. He had long been an agent of the Governor of Canada among the Indians, and was in great favor with them, but the powers at Versailles did not look on him with much favor, as he had been accused of illicit trading with the Indians. From all accounts it is probable he had more influence with the Indians than any other man then in America. At that time hostilities were raging between the Iroquois and the Miamis, and it was a part of the mission of Vincent to bring those two nations into harmony, as they were both regarded as allies by the French. It is not certain that he either established or attempted to establish a post on the Wabash, but he died in 1719 at the Miami village Kekionga, at the head of the Maumee. He must not be confused with the Sieur de Vincent who established the post at Vincennes. That Vincent was killed at the mouth of the Ohio, in a battle with the Indians, in 1736. That the Vincennes who was killed at this battle was the one who established the post on the Wabash, is fixed by Lieutenant St. Ange, who succeeded to the command of the post. In one of his letters to the Governor of Louisiana he refers to his death, and uses the words, "who established this post." Just who that Sieur de Vincent was is now a matter of dispute, but the general weight of authority is that he was a Francois Morgane, or Margane, a nephew of Jean Baptiste Bissot. Whoever he was, it is certain that he had not only succeeded to the title of Bissot, but to his popularity among the Indians. When the elder Vincent died Sieur Dubuison was appointed agent among the Indians in his stead, and was named as the commandant of Ouiatenon. It cannot be determined whether this appointment is to be construed as meaning that a post had already been established at Ouiate-

non, or that he was to establish such a post. It is probable, however, that about this time, 1720, a post or trading agency was established at Ouiatenon.

One of the last to investigate the question of the date of the settlements on the Wabash, was Mr. Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University. On page 148 of "The Mississippi Basin," he says:

"The territory in dispute between the French and English traders was along the Wabash and up the Ohio and its lateral valleys. Charlevoix speaks of the region north of the Ohio as likely to become the granary of Louisiana. Senex, the English cartographer, made it appear that through this region 'of one hundred and twenty leagues, the Illinois hunt cows,' and he magnified the trade in buffalo peltries. The waning power of the Iroquois and the coming of the Delawares and Shawnees into the Ohio Valley had permitted the French to conduct more extensive explorations, and they had found themselves liable to confront all along the valley the equally adventurous English.

"The Mississippi Company had urged (September 15, 1720) the building of a fort on the Wabash as a safeguard against the English, and the need of it had attracted the attention of Charlevoix. Some such precaution, indeed, was quite as necessary to overawe the savages, for now that the Wabash-Maumee portage was coming into favor, the Indians had lately been prowling about it and murdering the passers. La Harpe, in 1724, feared the danger of delay. In 1725, the necessity for some such protection alarmed Boisbriant early in the year. The Carolina traders had put up two booths on the Wabash, and rumors reached Kaskaskia of other stations which they had established farther up the Ohio Valley. These last intruders were probably Pennsyl-

vanians,—at least it is so assumed in the treaty made at Albany in 1754. The language of such treaties is rarely the best authority, but it is certain that Vaudreuil, in Quebec, believed it at the time. He reported to his home government that the English were haunting the upper waters of the Wabash and trading among the Miamis. As a result we find the Company of the Indies (December, 1725) instructing Boisbriant to beware of the English, and to let M. Vincennes, then among the Miamis, know that these rivals were moving in that direction. The next year the Company informed Perier (September 30, 1726) of their determination to be prepared, and authorized him, in concert with Vincennes, to repel the English if they approached. Vincennes had already been reconnoitering up the Ohio Valley to see if any English were there."

It is evident that in 1715, at least, there was no post on the Wabash; that Jean Baptiste Bissot was ordered to establish such post or posts and died in 1719. It is certain there was no post near the Wabash-Maumee portage. We find La Harpe fearing the danger of delay in establishing a post for the protection of the portage in 1724, and the necessity of some such protection alarmed Boisbriant in 1725. In 1726 Vincennes and Perier were ordered to make preparation to repel the English. At that time Vincennes was at Kaskaskia, and Perier had just been appointed to succeed Bienville in Louisiana. It may be conceded that the anxiety of the Company of the Indies for a post for the protection of the passers at the Wabash-Maumee portage does not preclude there having been a post at Vincennes, but in all probability, had there been such a post prior to 1725, its commandant would have been ordered to take steps to protect the portage, either by treaties with the Indians or by force,

but no record of such instructions appears to have been found.

It is probable that a post was established at Ouiatenon about 1720. This post was situated on the north bank of the Wabash River, about eighteen miles below the mouth of the Tippecanoe. The best record is that this was the first post established in what is now Indiana, by the French. No effort was ever made to plant a colony there, but it became in time quite a prominent trading point. There are reasons why this point should have been selected as the best possible place for the establishment of a post. It was the largest village of the Ouiatenon Indians, and was in the center of the beaver country, and was easily accessible. It was, also, the head of navigation, so to speak, on the Wabash. That is, it was where the cargoes had to be transferred, owing to the rapids in the river, from the large canoes which were used on the lower Wabash, to the smaller ones that were used between Ouiatenon and the portage to the Maumee. For trading purposes no better place on the Wabash could have been selected.

The threatened inroads of the English made the establishment of other posts imperative, and in 1725 they were ordered. There is no direct record of when the post at Vincennes was established, but it was probably about 1727. In that year Vincennes and his faithful Lieutenant, St. Ange, were at Kaskaskia. The journal of La Harpe, giving full particulars of the occurrences in the Illinois and Ouiatenon countries from 1698 to 1722 makes no mention of any post at Vincennes. General Harmar visited the post in 1787, and in a letter to the Secretary of War, said that he had been informed by the inhabitants that Vincennes had established the post sixty years before. That would place it in 1727.



One of the best evidences that it was not established in any of the earlier years to which the date has been assigned lies in the fact that all persons concede that it was established by Francois Margane, Sieur de Vincennes. He did not succeed to that title until late in the year 1719. He was the son of a sister of the elder Sieur Vincennes, and succeeded to the title on the death of his uncle, which took place, as has been noted, in 1719, at the Indian village on the Maumee. It is very possible that French traders had visited the Indian village of Chip-kaw-kay many years previously, but the fact is apparent that no settlement was made or post established before 1727. Some eight years later a number of French families settled there, and it became the first actual settlement of the State. It was called in the records, and referred to by the inhabitants as "The Post," "Old Post," "Au Poste," and was not known under the name of Vincennes until 1752. It remained the only settlement of whites in the State until after the Revolutionary War, although a military fort was maintained both at the head of the Maumee and at Ouiatenon, by the French, until the country was ceded to Great Britain.

From its settlement until it was finally transferred to Great Britain, Vincennes was under the jurisdiction of New Orleans. Its trade, however, was largely with Canada. The peltries were obtained from the Indians, or by personal efforts of the trappers, and after being thoroughly dried were packed in bundles or bales, of about one hundred pounds each. By canoes these were transported up the Wabash and Little Rivers to the portage, and from there carried across to the Maumee, where they were again loaded into pirogues or keel boats and taken down the Maumee to Lake Erie, and then on to Canada. After the French families settled at

Vincennes, and began the cultivation of the soil, their surplus products were placed in boats and floated down to the Ohio and then to the Mississippi and to New Orleans.

France governed her colonies from Versailles. They were allowed no latitude whatever. Even their domestic relations were controlled by written instructions from the parent country. The mills in which their grain was to be ground were designated. Even the very lowest offices were filled by appointment from Paris, and the people given no chance at self government. This was an element of weakness which finally caused the overthrow of French authority in America.

Not long after the post was established at Vincennes the Indians gave to the Post a large tract of land for the use of the settlers. This land was held in common, and not subdivided to the people. It was held really to belong to the French King, and not to the people. Grants from this tract were given from time to time to individual holders by the Governor of Vincennes, but the bulk was held in common. The settlers remained upon the most friendly terms with the Indians, and many of the men took Indian wives. The people were careless, indolent and in the main idle. They made no effort to settle and improve the surrounding country, but were contented to live within the Post, and from it cultivate some portions of the outlying land, and when the harvest was over they gave themselves up again to idleness and pleasure, that is, such pleasure as could be found in a small settlement so far removed from civilization. The only news they received from the outside world was by the occasional arrival of a canoe from Lake Erie, or from New Orleans. To get enough to eat and drink was seemingly their only object in life. The river furnished fish, the forests, game, and for

their other wants they raised wheat, oats, barley, and small quantities of maize. They also cultivated orchards, and vineyards, manufacturing the product into wine and cider. In religion they were devout Catholics, and their spiritual wants were attended to by the missionaries. But little attention was paid to education, and but few could read or write.

The colony was planted by France for the sole purpose of making good her claim to the country, and not for any purpose of conquest, or even a final and complete settlement of the whole territory. For all the purposes the French government had in view, a settlement or colony of a dozen families was as good as one of several hundred. In fact was better, for such a small settlement would not alarm the Indians, and therefore would call for no defense, while if a larger one should be planted a numerous garrison of soldiers would be necessary to defend it from the Indians, and soldiers, at that time, France could ill spare. So it was that the little colony was left to its own resources, and grew in numbers very slowly. A few families also settled in the neighborhood of Ouiatenon.

Vincennes remained in command of the Old Post until his death in 1736. In that year trouble arose between the French and the Indians on the Mississippi and Vincennes was called upon to reinforce the French at the mouth of the Ohio. There a bloody battle was fought and Vincennes was counted among the slain. Louis St. Ange was appointed to succeed him and commanded the Post until 1764, a short time before it was finally surrendered to the British. From all accounts St. Ange must have been a model officer for such a place. He managed his little colony with skill, and maintained friendly relations with the surrounding Indians.

About 1747, however, signs of coming trouble began to multiply. The British were reaching out after the fur trade of the Indians. They outbid the French and paid higher prices for skins than the French traders. A plot was formed whereby all the French posts west of Pennsylvania were to be destroyed. The conspiracy was discovered by the French, and it failed of ultimate consummation, but many depredations followed. The Miamis who had joined in the conspiracy captured Fort Miamis, on the Maumee, by surprise and burned it. Its garrison was finally released. The hostiles were soon put to flight and the fort was rebuilt.

The disaffection continued, however, and in the autumn of 1751 the hostiles killed two of the friendly Indians near Kekionga, and sold their scalps to the British. About the same time the Piankashaws killed two Frenchmen a short distance below the fort of Vincennes, and followed it by killing two slaves within sight of the Post. At Christmas five Frenchmen were killed on the Vermillion. No attack was made on Vincennes, owing, perhaps, to the fact that St. Ange had put it in a state of secure defense. The depredations continuing, and growing in number, it was determined to make active war against the hostiles. The center of British influence was at the Pickawillany town on the Big Miami, and it was determined to destroy that town. The English, by permission of the Miamis, had erected a fort at this town, and occupied it with a few traders. On the 21st of June 1752 the French, aided by the friendly Indians, surprised the town of Pickawillany, but most of the occupants escaped to the fort, which was at once besieged, by a force of two hundred and forty French and Indians. Everything around the fort was destroyed when the besiegers offered to withdraw without further damage, provided the English in

the fort were surrendered to them. The fort was not prepared to withstand a siege, as it was wholly destitute of water, and the proposition was accepted. The Indians concealed two of the English, but the others were surrendered. One of the prisoners was at once slain in plain sight of the fort. Here the Indians gave an exhibition of their cannibalistic traits. Among the Indians who had been captured was the principal chief of the Piankashaws. He had long been friendly with the English, and from that friendship had won the name of "Old Britain." He was held responsible for much of the disaffection against the French, and the Indian allies of the French killed him, cut him to pieces, and after cooking the flesh, ate it in full view of the people in the fort. They returned to the Wabash, and for some little time peace reigned.

In 1754, before the claims of France had been ceded to the English, Benjamin Franklin urged the establishment of English colonies in the country northwest of the Ohio River. He urged that the country belonged to Great Britain, and that the claim of that government ought to be made good by actual possession and settlement. He proposed to plant one colony in the valley of the river Scioto, and to erect small fortifications at Buffalo Creek, on the Ohio; at the mouth of Tioga, on the south side of Lake Erie; at Hocking; and at or near the mouth of the Wabash. He also advised that the French post at Sandusky, and all the little French posts south and west of the lakes and east of the Mississippi River be removed or taken and garrisoned by English troops. "Every fort," he said, "ought to have a small settlement around it, as the fort would protect the settlers and the settlers defend the fort and supply it with provisions." At that time there were thirteen French posts;

in the territory alluded to, three of them being within the limits of what is now Indiana—one at Vincennes, one at Ouiatenon, and one at the Maumee. They were all small posts, but two years later Chartres was made a strong fortification. At the close of 1765, after the country had been ceded by France, the French, in the northwest territory, including those at Detroit, only numbered six hundred families.

In 1760 Canada was surrendered to the English, and shortly afterward officers were sent out to take command of the posts around the lakes. Major Rogers took command of Detroit in November of that year, and men under his orders took possession of Fort Miamis and Ouiatenon. Vincennes was under the jurisdiction of New Orleans, and was not covered by the surrender of Canada. Now affairs changed materially. Before this it had been English emissaries stirring up the Indians to hostilities against the French; now it was French emissaries exciting the Indians against the English. In 1761 and 1762 numerous plots were formed by the Indians for the destruction of the English garrisons, but they were discovered. In 1763 the conspiracy headed by Pontiac was formed. An account of this outbreak against the English will be found in another chapter, but it is proper to state here that the British garrisons at Ouiatenon and Miamis were surprised and captured. Vincennes had not yet been surrendered to the British, and was still under the command of St. Ange, and was not molested by Pontiac. The French and English were nominally at peace, the French King having agreed to surrender to the English all the territory east of the Mississippi, but the final transfer had not been made. Pontiac and his confederated Indians stood in the way of the English taking possession. There

was not an English garrison, or an English post in all Indiana and Illinois. The French officers in command of the posts that were to be surrendered to the English had been ordered to deliver them over whenever demand was made for them, but the demand did not come. As the territory was no longer that of their King they were anxious to leave, but had to remain. If they departed it would leave the posts and the settlements around them without any form of government, and no one with authority to keep the peace, or prevent outbreaks by the Indians. They virtually no longer had any authority to govern, but the people would acquiesce, and humanity demanded that they remain until those authorized by the English Government to exercise authority should relieve them. The only attempt by the British to assume control was through a proclamation by General Gage, issued in December, 1764, as follows:

“By his Excellency, Thomas Gage, Major General of the King’s armies, colonel of the Twenty-second Regiment, General commanding in chief all the forces of his Majesty in North America, etc., etc.

“Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois by the troops, though delayed, has been determined upon, we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants that his Majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois the liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada; he has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman Church, in the same manner as in Canada.

"That his Majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants, or others who have been the subjects of the most Christian King, may retire in full safety and freedom, wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana, although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic Majesty; and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Majesty, and transport their effects as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration. under any pretense whatever, except in consequence of debts or of criminal process.

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his Majesty shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the King.

"That they are commanded, by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his Majesty, in presence of Sieur Sterling, Captain of the Highland Regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanor, all cause of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the posts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to the force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and all the evils which the march of an army into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published and posted up in the usual places.



"Done and given at headquarters, New York. Signed with our hand, sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our secretary, this 30th December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE. [L. S.]

"By His Excellency, G. MATURIN."

In the spring of 1764 Neyon de Villiers, who was in command at Chartres, determined to return to New Orleans without waiting the arrival of the British officer who was to relieve him, and he sent to Vincennes for St. Ange to come and take command of the fort.

On receipt of these orders St. Ange, on May 18, 1764, issued a proclamation to the people of Vincennes. After assigning M. Deroite de Richardville and M. De Caindre to the command of the post, the proclamation said:

"Their first care ought to be to maintain a good understanding between the French and the Indians, and to check any beginning of disorder as soon as possible. Whenever complaint shall be made to them against any person, they shall select a tribunal composed of the principal inhabitants of the place, and the matters [in dispute] shall be decided by a plurality of votes. Messrs. Deroite de Richardville and De Caindre cannot too earnestly require the inhabitants to maintain their fences, it being the interest of the public that [domestic] animals shall not be allowed to pass from the commons into the cultivated fields. They will prevent, as much as they can, the disorders which are too often occasioned by intoxicating liquors. Whenever any information interesting to the public service shall come to their knowledge, they will apprise me of it. In conclusion, in all cases which I cannot foresee, I depend on their good conduct, and their regard for the public welfare."

Thus it was that the good and wise St. Ange bade fare-

well to the people he had led and governed for nearly thirty years. All Louisiana had been secretly ceded to Spain, but it had been kept from the knowledge of the inhabitants. On the arrival of St. Ange at Fort Chartres, Neyon placed him in command and then set out for New Orleans. Two expeditions had been sent out by the English to take possession of Fort Chartres—one by the way of New Orleans, and the other by the Maumee, but, owing to the hostilities of Pontiac, both had failed of accomplishing the purpose. From the Mississippi to the Alleghanies the Indians were arrayed against the English, and every avenue to the French posts in the Illinois country was closed. The position of St. Ange at Fort Chartres was not an enviable one. The French inhabitants were uncertain as to the attitude Great Britain would assume toward their property claims, and their right to maintain their religious worship, and many of them were anxious to follow Neyon de Villiers to New Orleans. Many did go to St. Louis, fondly hoping that there they would be under the government of their native prince, but it was only to find, in a short time, that they had been transferred to Spain, and the Spanish yoke was but little more welcome than that of the English.

Pontiac was also clamoring at the gates of the fort for aid in his contest with the English. He had formed a widespread conspiracy, but realized that without French assistance the end would soon come, and the Indians be overborne by the power of the hated whites from the east. St. Ange would not listen to him. Finally he was convinced that he could hope for no assistance from the French, and he decided to make peace with the English, and on the 10th of October, 1765 St. Ange made a formal delivery of Fort Chartres to Captain Sterling, representing the British Gov-

ernment. Upon taking possession Captain Sterling issued the proclamation which had been prepared by General Gage a year before, in which he formally took possession of the country in the name of the King of England, granting the inhabitants liberty of conscience, and guaranteeing them all their personal and property rights. They were given the right to emigrate if they so desired, but if they elected to remain, they were required to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain. Fort Chartres proved to be a very unhealthy place for the new occupants, and several of the officers and many of the soldiers soon died. Captain Sterling himself only lived three months after taking command. In September, 1768, Lieutenant-Colonel Reed held command of the Fort, and by proclamation set up a sort of civil government for the Territory, establishing the first court west of the Alleghanies. It consisted of seven judges, and held power until 1774, when the British Parliament restored the civil law.

On May 19, 1777, two years after the beginning of the war of independence, and almost one year after the colonies had declared they would no longer be subject to King George, Lieutenant-Governor Abbott, of Detroit, arrived at Vincennes. During all those years the people had lived there without any legal government. As has been noted, when St. Ange left to assume command of Fort Chartres, he left the direction of affairs at Vincennes in the charge of Richardville and De Cindre. No record has ever been found that they exercised any functions of government. The British officers at Fort Chartres had expected, in the spring of 1769, to take possession of Vincennes and Ouiatenon, but had been prevented by various circumstances, and the only attempted exercise of government over the people of those

two posts was to take a census in 1770, of the posts on the Wabash and at Fort Miamis, on the Maumee, and an effort in 1772 by General Gage to force the French inhabitants to at once quit the Indian country. The people of Vincennes had not been altogether without some form of government during those unsettled years, for the census of 1770 records that M. Nicholas "is a most substantial inhabitant and has been employed as justice of the peace there, by some authority from the commanding officer at the Illinois." Some grants of land had also been made, those prior to 1770 being signed, one by "Chaparlee," and the other by "Chapard." It has been inferred that Chaparlee and Chapard were one and the same person. Those granted after 1770 were signed by Ste Marie, whose proper name was Jean Baptiste Racine.

The arbitrary act of General Gage, in 1772, in ordering all the whites to immediately vacate the Indian country, aroused the settlers, and they at once vigorously protested. They declared they held the title to their lands from officers of the French Government, who had a right to convey such titles, and that when the French Government transferred the territory to the English their rights were duly protected by the treaty of cession. Gage was autocratic and determined, and on the receipt of this remonstrance he ordered that all written titles to the possession of the lands should be forwarded to him at New York, for examination. The inhabitants were a careless set, and mainly ignorant, and had failed to properly care for the written evidences of the grants made to them, and many of them had been left in the hands of the notary who had drawn them. They never dreamed of any question ever being raised as to their right to the lands they were occupying and had been occupying for nearly half a century. So it was that this last order of

Gage fell like a thunderbolt upon the poor inhabitants. Some deeds were found, but many more could not be found. An appeal was made to St. Ange, at St. Louis. He responded by reciting that he had held command of the Post from 1736 to 1764, and that during that time, by order of the Governors he had conceded many parcels of lands to various inhabitants by written concessions, and had verbally permitted others to settle on and cultivate lands, of which they had been in possession for many years. Other officers certified that many deeds had been carried away, others removed to the record office of the Illinois, and still others had been lost or destroyed by rats.

The British government had already heard the mutterings of discontent in the Eastern Colonies, and did not want to add to the embarrassments at other points, and in 1774 the whole territory northwest of the Ohio was put under the dominion of Canada. This decision of Parliament was all that was done until 1777, when, as has been said, Lieutenant-Governor Abbott arrived and assumed command. As to the condition in which he found affairs at that time he reported to Governor Carleton, under date of May 26, 1777:

"Since the conquest of Canada, no person bearing his Majesty's Commission has been to take possession; from this your Excellency may easily imagine what anarchy reigns. I must do the inhabitants justice for the respectful reception I met with, and for their readiness in obeying the orders I thought necessary to issue. The Wabache is perhaps one of the finest rivers in the world; on its banks are several Indian towns, the most considerable is the Ouiji [Wea], where it is said there are 1,000 men capable to bear arms. I found them so numerous, and needy, I could not pass without great expense. The presents, though very

large, were in a manner despised, saying their ancient Father (the French) never spoke to them without a barnfull of goods; having no troops and only a handfull of French, obliged me to esquiese [acquiesce] in part of their exorbitand demands, which has occasioned a much greater expense than I could have imagined, but I believe it not thrown away, as I left them seemingly well disposed for his Majesty's Service."

The British did not long hold possession of Vincennes and the territory it governed, for in August, 1778, while Lieutenant-Governor Abbott was away from the Post, Captain Helm, representing General George Rogers Clark, captured the place. Helm, in turn was compelled in December following to surrender to the British, who in turn, within three months, were again driven out by Clark, and Vincennes was lost forever to England. Let us now glance for a moment at the fate of the other two posts held by the British in Indiana. As has been stated, soon after Canada was surrendered to the British, Ouiatenon and Fort Miamis were occupied and garrisoned by British troops. They both fell under Indian control during the Pontiac conspiracy, but were restored to British command when the Indians made peace. Ouiatenon had been destroyed by the Indians, and the few French settlers in the neighborhood removed to Vincennes. Fort Miamis was again garrisoned and held until the close of the Revolutionary War.

No attempt at British or American settlements had been made within the boundary of Indiana. Following the capture of Vincennes by General Clark, a few Americans went to that point. The Indians still claimed the ownership and possession of all the lands except the tract around Vincennes, which had been given by them for the use of the

inhabitants of the Post. While General Clarke was exercising authority at Vincennes the Indians ceded to him a tract of 150,000 acres of land around the falls of the Ohio River, which grant was afterward confirmed by Virginia and by Congress. The first American settlement within the limits of Indiana was made on this grant. The years following the close of the war for independence were very dark for settlers on the western frontiers. The Indians were restless over the advance of civilization, and urged on by English emissaries from Canada and by some of the old French settlers, soon became decidedly hostile. They never had been entirely satisfied with the change from the French to the British, and that to the Americans was far more distasteful. The French had never asked for or taken any of their lands. They only asked for the right to establish small trading posts, to be used as centers of traffic with the Indians themselves. The little land given around the posts for the use of the inhabitants had been freely given, without asking. The French freely mingled with the Indians, living as they lived; marrying among them and raising families. Many of the most distinguished of their chiefs could trace their lineage back to some gallant French officer, or some daring trader. The French never made war on them, nor cut down their forests, nor drove away the wild game on which they so largely depended for subsistence.

On the other hand, the Americans were grasping, taking no thought of any claims the natives might have to the country, but pushed forward their settlements in utter disregard for any prior rights. Wherever they established a fort, or planted a settlement, the ax was soon applied to the forest, and the game forced to seek other quarters. They only remembered that during their long struggle for inde-

pendence the Indians had been found in the ranks of the enemy, and that hundreds of homes had been desolated and hundreds of victims cruelly slain, and they acted toward the Indians accordingly. Kentucky had already been seized upon by the whites, and new settlers for that delightful region were pouring in. During the year 1780 three hundred family boats had arrived at the Falls of the Ohio. A few settlers had also made their appearance on the northern bank of the Ohio. Soon after the conquest of Kaskaskia and Vincennes by General George Rogers Clark, and even before the close of the Revolutionary War, American settlers began to gather at those two points, and to occupy the lands of the Indians.

The Indians realized that a last rally must be made or the Ohio, Wabash and Maumee valleys would follow the hunting grounds of Kentucky. The Miamis had permitted the Pottawattamies, the Shawnees and the Delawares to settle in Indiana. These were three of the most powerful and warlike tribes in the West. The Shawnees were especially implacable. They had hardly erected their wigwams in the Territory when they set up a claim to it, even as against the Miamis, and it was in defense of that claim Tecumseh afterward aroused the tribe to a fierce contest with the whites. The British troops had hardly abandoned the forts that were to be delivered to the Americans, than the Indians organized a series of predatory raids on the outlying settlers in Kentucky, and on all sides the torch of war blazed. The depredations were committed by roving bands from the various tribes. They would steal over into Kentucky, surprise some weak block house, or waylay some unsuspecting settler, or ambush some floating boatload of immigrants, destroy the block house, murder the settler or



the immigrants, and then hasten back to the fastnesses of Indiana or Ohio. Several expeditions were organized against the savages, but in the main they were unfortunate for the whites, they allowing themselves to be ambushed and slaughtered. Among the most active, and altogether the ablest of those placed in command of the whites, was General George Rogers Clark. In 1786, he organized an expedition of one thousand men, and with that force marched to Vincennes. In proceeding against the Indians farther up the Wabash, disaffection broke out among the men, and the force returned to Vincennes, without accomplishing anything. It was then determined to permanently garrison that place, and soldiers for that purpose were recruited, and officers appointed by General Clark. The details of this attempt to set up a government at Vincennes will be found in another chapter.

All these things operated to prevent any permanent settlement of what was now beginning to be known as the "Northwest Territory." It required several years of war with the Indians before peace was secured. Harmer and St. Clair had to suffer terrible defeats, and General Anthony Wayne had to inflict a like punishment on the Indians before settlers dared to open up their clearings and erect their cabins. In the meantime a few Americans had gathered at Vincennes, and a settlement had been made at Clarksville, on Clark's Grant. In what is now Ohio many settlers had located, and to placate the Indians, who claimed the possession of the country, and as none of it had been ceded by them to the government, Congress ordered that all white settlers should be removed from the Indian lands. In pursuance of this order the troops destroyed a large number of houses, but as soon as they would leave the scene of destruction the

1763' hardy and daring settlers would again erect their cabins. In 1873 the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act for laying off the town of Clarksville, on the right bank of the river at the Falls of the Ohio. The act provided that the lots, of half an acre each, should be sold at public auction for the best prices that could be had. The purchasers were required to build, on the lots purchased, within three years a dwelling house, "twenty feet by eighteen, at least, with a brick or stone chimney." Trustees were appointed to conduct the sale and a few lots were disposed of, but the dangers from the Indians prevented the new town from growing very much. It was, however, the first distinctively American settlement in what is now Indiana, with its teeming population.

When General Anthony Wayne had forced peace on the Indians, and they had ceded some of their lands to the Government, settlers began to come in more rapidly. At first they clung pretty closely along the Ohio, where they could, in case of alarm, readily fly to Kentucky, and where they were in more easy reach of needed supplies, but after a few years they began to branch out along the Whitewater, but the great interior of the State was still left in the hands of the Red Men. Those pioneer settlers mainly came from Virginia, Tennessee and the Carolinas, but some were from Pennsylvania and the New England States, while a few others were of the sturdy Irish or Scotch-Irish stock.

Those pioneers were brave, hardy and adventurous. It was not a very inviting scene where they sought to carve out new homes for themselves. The hills around the Ohio were abrupt and steep, covered by heavy forests of centuries' growth. The soil was rich enough when once the heavy timber was cleared away to give room for the plow, but it

was the labor of months and years to cut away that heavy timber and clear out the undergrowth. But here and there among those hills, and along the banks of the Beautiful River, where the hills did not come down close to the water, were lovely little valleys of level or slightly rolling ground, which gave great promise to the home-seeker, and it was not many years before those lovely valleys were blooming with the harvest for the use of civilized man. The forests were full of game; herds of buffalo were found everywhere, and the hardy pioneer was hardly ever out of sight of a deer, and bear were almost as plentiful, and in the fall or early winter great flocks of wild geese were seen wending their way southward, and the streams were filled with wild ducks, while in the spring the wild pigeons darkened the sky from their very numbers. Yet, after all, for the first score or more of years the life was not altogether an inviting one, for, in addition to the great labor required to open up the farms and prepare for the harvest, there were the deprivations which had to be undergone. Many comforts had to be dispensed with, and the settler had to depend upon himself for all articles of food, while the good housewife made all the clothing for herself and family. Neighbors were widely separated; stores there were none; physicians could not be had, and the new climate was very unhealthy. It is true that the diseases generally prevailing were of a malarial type, but they were such as to break down the system and shorten life. The pharmacopoeia of the early settlers was very simple. It contained but one or two formulas: whisky and tansy, or whisky and wild cherry bark, for most of the diseases, and simple herbs cultivated in the gardens for all others. Then, to add to all else, there were the roving and treacherous savages.

The French who had first come into the State had been content to live at the trading posts, cultivating a little land in its immediate vicinity, but the American pioneer could not be satisfied with such a life. They wanted homes and farms of their own, and they boldly pushed out into the wilderness. At first they kept close enough together to spread the alarm in case of Indian incursions, but now and then one bolder than the others would break far off into the woods and live the life almost of a hermit. The treaty made by Wayne, after his defeat of the confederated tribes, opened up much new territory to settlement, and he had erected a fort at the head of the Maumee, where the city of Fort Wayne now stands, and right in the heart of the Indian country, and around it gathered a few American families. This was the only settlement in the entire northern part of the State. After the defeat of the Indians by Wayne the settlers had comparative peace for a few years, but every once in awhile predatory bands of Indians would suddenly slip down on some isolated settler, steal his stock or murder him and his family.

The whites were not contented with the lands opened up for settlement, and were continually encroaching on those reserved to the Indians. This was a source of continual trouble and the Indians vigorously protested, and other treaties were made, each one ceding more land. Against these cessions Tecumseh, as the representative of the Shawnees, strenuously objected, and endeavored to arouse the Delawares and Pottawattamies. At first the Miamis had claimed all the country now lying within the bounds of Indiana, and most of that in Ohio. They had permitted the Shawnees, Delawares and Pottawattamies to settle on different portions of it, and now Tecumseh set up the claim that

the Miamis could not cede any of the territory without the consent of all the other tribes. In these efforts to stir up hostilities he was assisted by his brother, the Prophet, and it was not long before depredations became numerous. Governor Harrison made every effort to maintain the peace, but finally active hostilities broke out, and from 1810 until after the close of the war with Great Britain the settlers had but little peace. During all those years the hardy settler who did not actually live in some one of the small towns, never felt safe without his trusty rifle was close by him, and he went to his field with his gun in his hand. Even the pioneer preachers, who traveled about from one settlement to another, often carried a rifle on their shoulders.

Those early settlers were industrious, hard working people, and while seeking homes for themselves little dreamed they were laying broad and deep the foundations for an empire, whose people in three score years would send to the battlefield two hundred thousand brave sons, whose blood should redden the soil from the Ohio to the Gulf. After the close of the war with Great Britain the new country rapidly filled up. The pioneers brought little with them into this new country except their physical strength, courage and honest purposes. They were not rich in worldly effects. A horse, a yoke of cattle, a sheep or two, usually made up the list of their possessions outside of a few household goods, and they were of the most primitive kind. They would select the land for their future home, erect a rude log cabin, and begin the work of clearing the land of timber, ready for the seed time and harvest. Most of the families had a few shoemaker's tools, a wheel for spinning flax, some scraps of iron to be used in a domestic blacksmith shop, and a few rude agricultural implements. They were all hunters

and trappers. Farming was limited to raising wheat and corn for food, and flax for clothing. The farmer frequently made his own hoes, horseshoes, and sometimes his plows. This work would be done at night or on rainy days, when he could not work in his clearing or in attending to his crop. At night he would also make the shoes for himself and his family, while the women would spin the flax, or the wool, weave the cloth and make the clothing. The corn, when gathered, would be made into hominy, ground into meal in the rude mills, or kept for the use of the stock. Sassafras and spicewood furnished the tea, and rye or parched corn the coffee. Salt was a luxury hard to obtain. Sugar generally came from the sap of the maple, and sugar-making time was usually a season of festivity.

When a settler would come into a neighborhood he was always kindly greeted, and when he had chosen the spot for the erection of his home, and had cut the timber ready for the building of the house, the people for miles around would gather and soon have his house erected and covered. Windows were unknown. During the day the door would be kept open for light, and at night the great open fireplace would furnish light to work by. In summer time, when it would be too warm for a fire, the light was obtained from rude candles, or from lamps made by dividing a large turnip into two, scraping the turnip until only the rind remained, and then filling that with lard, the wick being furnished by a piece of tow linen or flannel wrapped around a stick. By such a light the men and women worked. Books and papers they had none. When the settler would be able to get together a few peltries, he would put them on his horse and start for the distant settlement (there were no towns in those days), and there exchange them for some of the necessities of life. Inside the home the furnishings

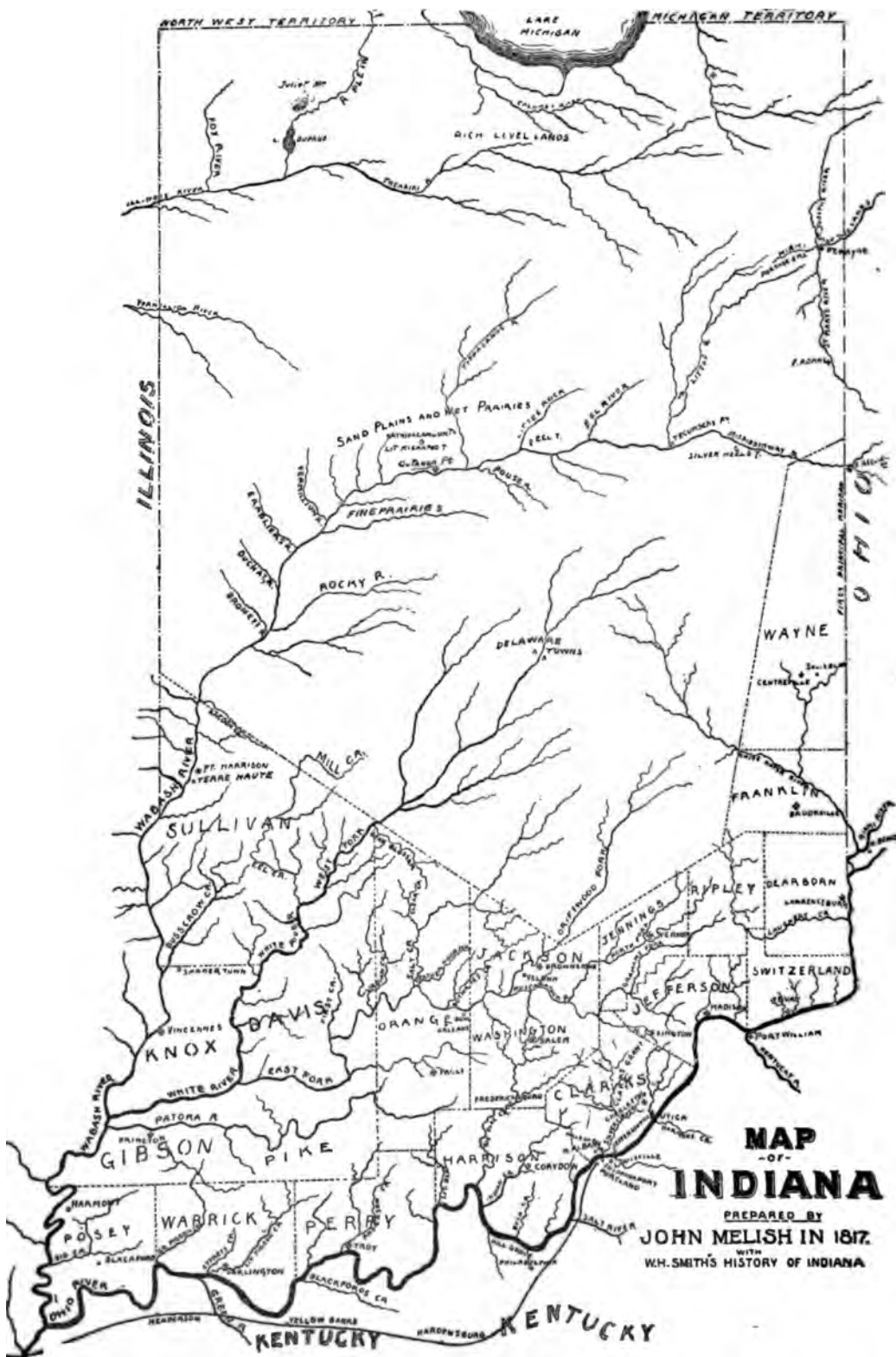
were as rude as the outside. Generally the bedstead was simply four poles, with a fork at one end, driven into the ground. On these four uprights other poles would be laid, and on that the "strawtick." Here and there would be found a good housewife, much richer than her neighbors, who could boast of a feather pillow. She was the envy of all her neighbors, and was looked up to as being in a higher sphere of life. Her wealth made her the oracle of the neighborhood, and the leader in all social affairs.

They did not suffer for food, for game of all kinds was abundant, and wild grapes, wild plums, blackberries and pawpaws were found everywhere. Their wants were few and simple, and those the toil of their own hands or the chase furnished them. Linsey was the material out of which the "best dress" of the women was made, while buckskin gave the men trousers which lasted for more than one season. Nor were they wholly without amusements. Shooting at a mark, hunting, fishing, trapping, running foot races, wrestling, jumping, pitching quoits, horse racing, dancing, singing schools, log rollings, house raisings, corn huskings, and quiltings furnished a variety of amusements. Weddings were great occasions, and when an itinerant preacher would make his appearance the people for miles would gather to listen to the story of the cross.

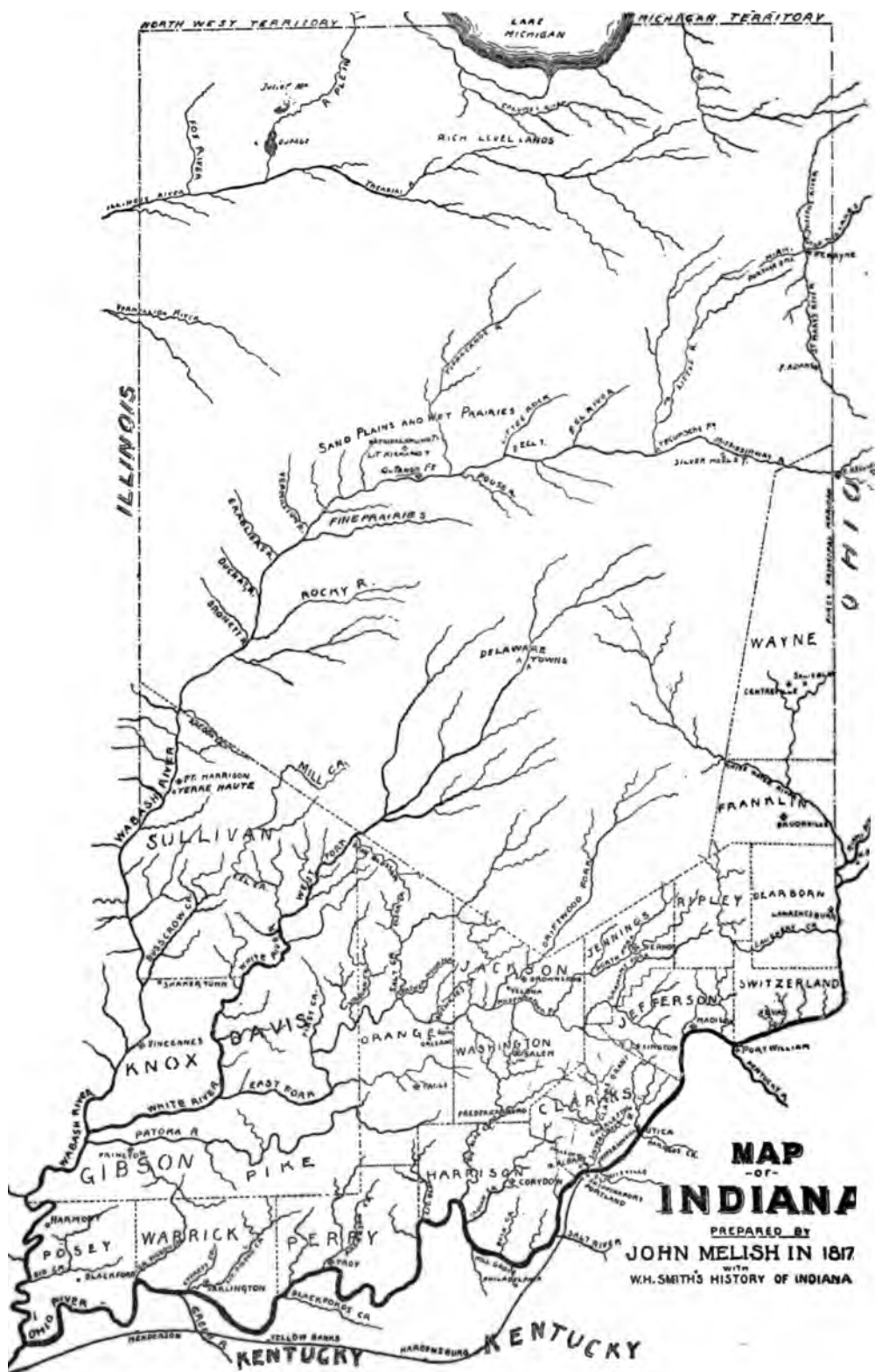
Even in 1816, when Indiana was admitted into the Union as a State, by far the greatest part of the State still belonged to the Indians. The accompanying map will show how little of it had been ceded by the Indians, but after the admission of the State, treaties were rapidly concluded by which the area of the territory open for settlement was largely increased. Indian depredations did not wholly cease until some years after Indiana had been admitted into the Union, but there were no Indian wars within her borders.















## CHAPTER II.

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### ARCHÆOLOGY.

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When man first appeared on the soil of America is unknown; it is lost in the misty ages of the past, but certain it is that for thousands of years before the age of history, man dwelt in America. When the Europeans first landed on the American coast, they found in the unknown world, a race of people who had traditions running back for many centuries. So long had they been here that they had lost all knowledge or tradition from whence they came. It was a race different in almost every respect from any of the other known races of the world. But prior to their time, running back for many ages, there had been another race which had peopled the continent and governed it for centuries and possibly for thousands of years, but that race had disappeared so long before the Indians took possession, that the Red Man had no tradition of them. Whether this race was the predecessor or the successor of still another race which has left evidence of its existence, is not known. The Toltecs of Mexico, the predecessors of the Aztecs, left a record reaching back for a thousand years before the Christian era and yet those records reach not back far enough to give the world any knowledge of the race which built the famous buried cities of Central America. The ruins in Central America show that at one time there had existed a race far advanced in civilization, living in houses in walled

cities. These cities were large enough to have contained a population reaching far into the thousands, possessing great wealth and a knowledge of many of the arts and sciences. The race that built and occupied those cities had disappeared, and the cities had been ruined and destroyed so long before the advent in Mexico of the Toltecs that they had no knowledge of them.

The growth of a people which depends for increase upon natural causes must of necessity be very slow, therefore, to have reached so great a population as occupied the ruined cities of Central America, the race must have dwelt upon this continent for many centuries. To destroy a race, overturn its cities, and bury their ruins so deep that an occupation of the soil around them and over them, by another race for many centuries, without that race making some discoveries of such ruins, must have required ages. Yet such is Central America. In Indiana we find no trace of such a race, yet there is abundant evidence to show that at one time, long anterior to the coming of the Red Man, Indiana was quite densely populated by a race that lived, flourished and passed away without leaving any records except in its monuments, weapons and utensils for domestic use. This has been called the race of Mound Builders. Who were they? From whence came they? When, where and how did they disappear? These questions remain unanswered, yet the fact is patent that at one time Indiana was quite densely populated by them. The works left by this prehistoric race are of three kinds—fortifications, mounds and memorial pillars. This is not the usual classification given, for what is here denominated memorial pillars are generally classed as mounds.

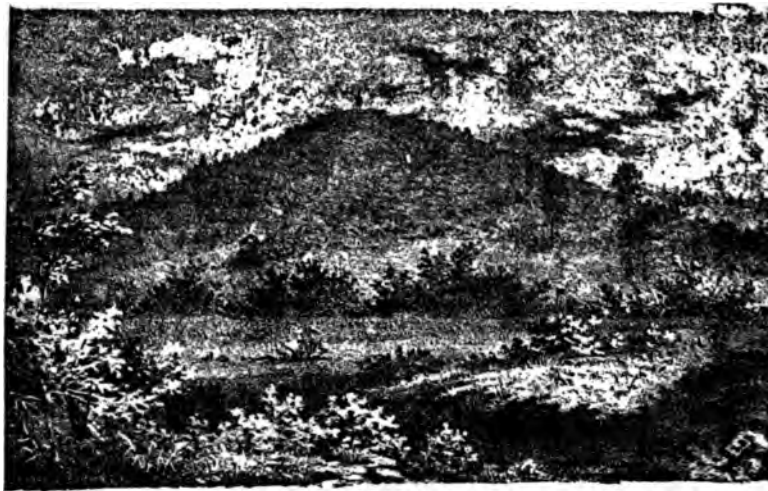
The mounds have been divided into three classes and

designated as "Burial Mounds," "Temple Mounds," and "Mounds of Habitation." There is but little reason for believing that any of the mounds were ever used for habitation. No signs of any excavations in them have ever been discovered. If they had been merely raised places upon which to build their houses, some of the remains of the houses would have been found in them, either in stone, sun-burned brick, or the peculiar mold left by decayed timber. No such discoveries have ever been made. There is also but little reason for believing that any of them were used as temples or places of worship. The Mound Builders may, and doubtless did have some form of worship, but there is nothing about the mounds to indicate that they were ever used for such a purpose. It is evident that all the mounds were built by the same race, although in some of them the remains of a later race have been found buried. Some of the mounds in America are very large, the largest being that on the plains of Cahokia, Illinois, opposite the city of St. Louis. It is seven hundred feet long by five hundred feet wide at the base, and is ninety-eight feet high. It covers eight acres of ground and contains nearly twenty million cubic feet of earth. Such a mound could only have been built by a race of slaves, and of itself gives strong evidence of a very dense population.

The Ohio Valley appears to have been about the center, and was possibly the seat of empire of this prehistoric race. The southern half of Indiana is dotted all over with their works, and quite a number have been found in the northern half. Knox and Sullivan Counties were the most favored of any. Around the city of Vincennes there are more than forty large mounds and hundreds of small ones. On one farm there is a group of fifty-three. They are laid off in



regular lines as if there was some specific design in their construction. One or more of the mounds of this group have been examined and found to contain human skeletons, and many specimens of pottery, and it is more than probable that the other mounds would yield a like product. Knox County has three mounds that for symmetry of shape will



MOUND NEAR VINCENNES.

rival any in the country. They are known as "Pyramid Mound," "Sugar-Loaf Mound," and "Terraced Mound." The first has a diameter from east to west of three hundred feet, and from north to south of one hundred and fifty feet. It has a level area on the summit of fifteen by fifty feet. It is fifty-seven feet high. The second is forty-four feet high and has an extreme diameter of two hundred and sixteen feet, and a lesser of one hundred and eighty feet. "Terraced Mound" is the largest of the three, having a height of sixty-seven feet and a diameter at the base of three hundred and sixty feet from east to west, and two hundred and eighty

feet from north to south. The summit is reached by a winding roadway from the east. "Sugar Loaf" has been examined and found to consist of alternate layers of loess sand, and charcoal and bones, all resting on a bed of red altar clay. There are four of the layers of charcoal and bones.

In the city of Vincennes was a very interesting mound, which has been entirely removed. The work of removal was carefully done and a vault grave discovered, containing skeletons, more or less decayed, closely packed together. There was no arrangement in the burials and the remains were so closely packed together and so mixed that they were nothing but a mass of bones. The vault had been dug in the surface of the earth and the interior coated with a white plaster of calcined mussel shells. The remains had then been placed and the exterior of the vault similarly coated. Over this had been placed a thick covering of black bituminous shale. At the center of the bottom of the vault was found a clustered sheaf of wing bones of the wild turkey. The sheaf contained thirty-five or forty bones, the larger ends being laid in one direction. The other ends were beveled in a peculiar manner. The mound had been erected over this vault. One mound in the town of Spencer, Owen County, yielded twenty-five wagon loads of bones, representing about five thousand bodies.

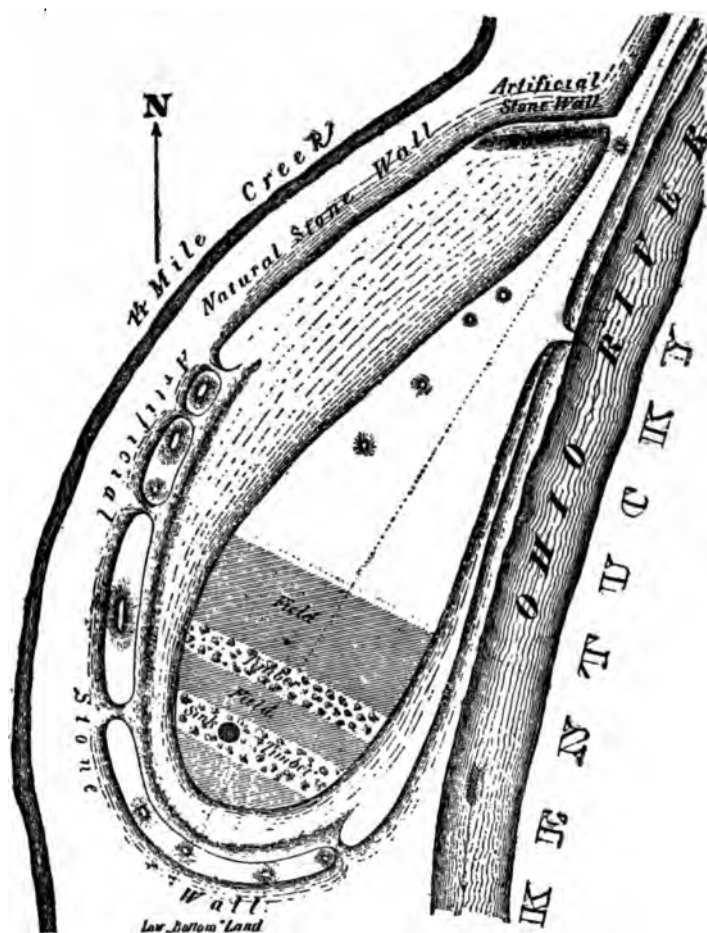
In Morgan County, within a few miles of Indianapolis, is a very beautiful mound. It is about one hundred feet in diameter and twenty feet high. Similar mounds, though of smaller dimensions, are found all over the southern half of Indiana, and there are many reasons for believing that they are all burial mounds. Indiana has also quite a number of fortifications left by this ancient race. Some of them are of very peculiar structure, and prove that the Mound Builders

must have attained to some degree of civilization, for they were able to form, in the construction of their works, perfect circles and perfect squares and of great accuracy. They must have possessed regular scales of measurement and means of determining angles. Among their works we find squares, circles and octagons of great dimensions. They built great military works, surrounded by walls and ditches; some of them containing artificial lakes for supplying water to the garrison. They possessed a chain of fortifications reaching from the southern part of New York diagonally across the country to the Wabash River, and another chain commencing at a point on the Ohio River, in Clark County, Indiana, running northward into Madison County, thence eastward to Central Ohio, and thence southward through Kentucky to Tennessee. One of these enclosures in Ohio, on the Little Miami River, known as "Fort Ancient," has a circle of five miles and encloses one hundred acres. The embankments are from five to twenty feet high. It would have held a garrison of sixty thousand men, with their families and provisions. The embankment has seventy gateways. Numerous mounds and protecting works are scattered around. The most elaborate and complicated system of defensive works is found near Newark, Ohio. It consists of an extensive series of square, circular and polygonal enclosures, with mounds, ditches and connecting avenues. The works extend over four square miles of territory.

In Sullivan County, Indiana, near the town of Merom, is situated a very curious and interesting defensive work or fortification, built by the Mound Builders. It has been christened "Fort Azatlan." It is situated on a plateau on the east bank of the Wabash River. The river bank is of

sandstone and very steep. The plateau is one hundred and seventy feet above the river and is a natural fortification. Its extreme length is about twelve hundred feet. At its northern end it is fifty feet wide, but it stretches out until it reaches a width of four hundred feet, and then narrows again gradually until at the southern end it is only one hundred and twenty-five feet. On the east and along the southwestern part of the plateau are deep ravines. The weak places in this naturally strong position were strengthened by artificial walls. On the eastern side, and about three hundred and fifty feet from the southern end, the ravine makes an indenture of nearly one hundred and fifty feet. At this point is a magnificent spring and the line is protected by a double wall. The entrance is at the southern end and is protected by flanking walls extending inward about seventy-five feet. The walls here are about thirty feet thick. The interior of the fortification is dotted with depressions or sinks. They are circular in form and vary in width from ten to twenty feet. The supposition is that these pits were dwelling places of the garrisons. In the enclosure, as well as all around it, are burial mounds, showing that the place was quite densely populated for a very long period of time.

A few miles above Jeffersonville is an elevated pear-shaped plateau or ridge. On the east is the Ohio River, which flows along washing the base of the ridge. To the west is "Fourteen Mile Creek," which, at the northern point or neck of the ridge, almost touches the river, but makes a wide sweep to the west and then to the south, finally emptying into the Ohio a few rods below the southern extremity of the high ground. From the top of this ridge is one of the finest views to be found in the West. The extreme northern point is two hundred and eighty feet above the level of the



OLD STONE FORT IN CLARK COUNTY.

river, and from it the broad and beautiful river may be seen for many miles each way. It also overlooks the shore of Kentucky far to the east and south, and to the west are the fertile acres of Indiana. This pear-shaped ridge was fortified and strengthened by the Mound Builders until it became, for that period and for their mode of warfare, a perfect Gibraltar. The area enclosed is a space about fifteen

hundred feet long and five hundred feet wide at its widest point. At the northern point the ridge is two hundred and eighty feet above the main land and slopes gradually to the southward, until at the lower timber line it is only one hundred and twenty feet above the river. The bottom land at the south end is sixty feet above the river. Along the river front is an abrupt escarpment of rock, too steep to be scaled. A similar natural barrier exists on the northwest side of the ridge. At the extreme northwestern end, however, the natural wall breaks away into shelves or benches. To protect this angle an artificial wall was built along the slope of the hill to an elevation of seventy-five or eighty feet above its base, the last ten feet being vertical. This wall is one hundred and eighty feet long, and connects the natural wall of the creek side with that of the river. At this point is a slight break in the cliff which affords a narrow passageway to the river.

At a point on the west side, and about middle way of the ridge, the natural wall again breaks away, and from there on around the south end until it strikes the river bluff, is a made stone wall ten feet high. The walls are laid up without the use of lime or cement, and some of the stones are very large. The inside of the wall is protected by a ditch twenty feet wide and five feet deep. Between the wall and the ditch is a series of earth mounds rising to the height of the wall. The sides of the mounds are protected by stone shields, the stones being set on end. At several places along the ditch channels have been cut and corresponding openings made in the wall. These were evidently for the purpose of carrying off the surplus water. On the top of the ridge are several distinct mounds, the one at the neck being the largest and highest. From its top an unobstructed view for

miles in every direction is obtained. Nothing but the walls, ditch and mounds are left to tell of the race that had once occupied this fortification, except hundreds of flint arrow heads and stone battle axes, which have been picked up in the vicinity. About eight miles north of this stone fort is a circular enclosure. This is an earthwork of about two thousand feet in circumference. The embankment was originally about twelve feet high. In form it is almost a perfect circle. Pottery, kitchen refuse, fresh water shells and fragments of bones of various animals have been found in great abundance. From this to the stone fort is a line of signal or observation mounds.

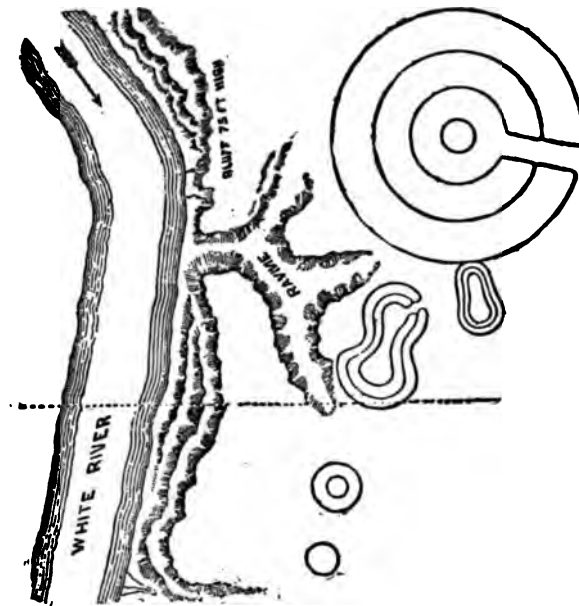
The third fortification in the series lies in the edge of Jefferson County, and is a stone enclosure. It is on the bank of Big Creek, and is eighty feet above the creek bed. The north and south sides of the enclosure are protected by natural walls from sixty to eighty feet high. On the east end is a made stone wall about four hundred feet long. This wall is curved so as to protect all points, and was originally about ten feet thick. On the west the natural walls come close together, forming a narrow neck. Across this narrow neck a made stone wall was thrown. The area enclosed is about ten acres. A short distance south of the enclosure are three curious stone mounds or memorial pillars. The largest of the three is egg-shaped with a transverse diameter of one hundred and forty feet, and a conjugate of sixty feet. The other two are much smaller. With the exception of two on the Ohio River, not far from the "Stone Fort," these are the only stone mounds known in Indiana. The object for which these mounds were erected can only be conjectural, but the probability is they were intended as memorials of some stirring event in the history of the Mound Builders.

It was the custom of many of the ancient races of the world to commemorate important events by erecting pillars of stone. Thus Jacob set up a stone at Bethlehem, and Noah erected an altar when he came forth from the ark. When these pillars were set up by a race or tribe it was the custom for each member of the tribe to contribute a stone, and thus the size and importance of the pillar depended largely upon the numerical strength of the tribe. The custom was for the principal, or head man of the tribe, to place the first stone, then each member of the tribe to follow and place his contribution on the pile. In many cases even the women and children would cast a stone upon the heap. These pillars were erected, sometimes to commemorate a great victory, a deliverance from some threatened danger, or the accession of a new ruler. From the shape of the stone mounds in Indiana, the most probable explanation of them is that they were intended as memorial pillars. Their presence cannot reasonably be explained on any other theory.

In the County of Madison, and not far from the city of Anderson, is a section rich in archeological interest. Within half a mile of each other are two groups of interesting works, some of them in an excellent state of preservation. The bluffs on the south side of White River rise to a height of seventy-five feet. A broad and deep ravine extends a hundred or more feet to the southwest. Just south of the ravine, so as to be protected by it, and yet so as to overlook the river, the principal work is located. It is a circular embankment ten feet high, sixty-nine feet wide at the base, and broad enough on top to furnish a pleasant driveway for carriages. On the inside is a ditch sixty feet wide and ten feet deep. The diameter of the circle is four hundred feet. On the southwest is a gateway thirty feet wide, the ditch ter-



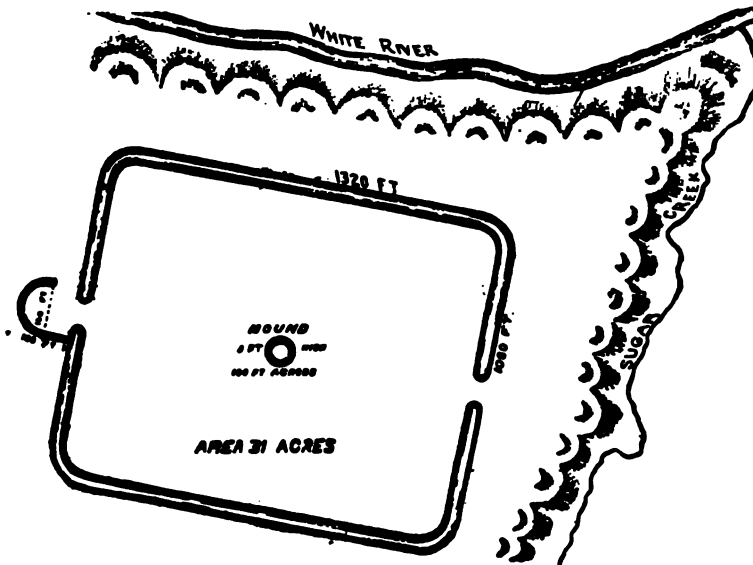
minating on each side of the entrance. To the west of this are four other smaller enclosures, and to the east and southwest are three more. A half mile up the river is another group almost equally interesting. The magnitude of such works can be best gauged by a mention of the tools which



PREHISTORIC WORKS IN MADISON COUNTY.

were employed. It must be remembered that the builders had no tools except rude stone spades, never more than three inches wide, and that they possessed no beasts of burden, or vessels, in which to carry the earth, except small willow baskets. If the canal was filled with water for an additional protection to the garrison, the water had to be carried, in small earthen jars, up a steep bluff seventy-five feet high. In nearly every case where a canal is found it is on the inside of the structure, and not on the outside, as in more modern times.

There is still another of their works worthy of attention. Near Winchester, in Randolph County, are the remains of a unique and beautiful walled enclosure. It is not only the largest in the State, but it is the most scientifically laid out. It encloses an area of about thirty acres. In shape it



PREHISTORIC WORKS IN RANDOLPH COUNTY.

is a parallelogram with curved angles. The sides have a length of 1,350 feet and the ends of 1,200 feet. There is an entrance at each end. That on the north was defended by a half-circle outwork which overlapped the gateway. The walls, in some places, are still well preserved and are about nine feet high.

There has been but little data left by which to determine the habits or mode of life of this prehistoric people. It is evident they were not dwellers in cities. At least no ruins have been found of any structures such as have been discovered in Mexico and Central America. They were not

nomadic herdsmen like the patriarchs of old, for no remains of cattle or other domestic animals have been found, yet there are reasons for believing their habits to have been in a degree nomadic, and that they moved about like the Arabs of the Desert. They knew something of agriculture, and, no doubt, cultivated maize to a considerable extent. The remains of extensive garden beds have been found. In Northern Indiana occur a series of ancient earthworks, showing that at one time they were used as garden beds. Those works are of various forms and cover from ten to one hundred acres each. An effort has been made to connect the Mound Builders with the Jewish race, and the division of their garden beds has been cited as an evidence of this connection. When the children of Israel took possession of the land of Canaan the land was not only divided to the different tribes, but was subdivided to the various families. It has been suggested that the division of the garden beds shows that each family had a separate piece for cultivation. This, of course, is mere guess work, and a guess with out any foundation. They must have been an agricultural people, at least to a very large extent, for none other could have subsisted the thousands who must have been employed in building the vast mounds and other works. A race wholly depending for food upon hunting and fishing, could never have subsisted so great a number employed in other pursuits.

Their method of tilling the soil must necessarily have been of the most primitive character, for their implements were very rude. Those that have been discovered were chipped out of chert or quartzite. These implements, rude as they are, show considerable skill in their construction. As they possessed no domestic animals, all the work of til-

ling the soil had to be done by hand, necessarily entailing great labor. No doubt the forests abounded in game and the lakes and rivers in fish; many implements of the chase have been discovered. The immense shell heaps that have been found in some localities disclose the fact that the rivers and lakes furnished much of their food. As they were compelled to rely upon the chase, and the limited cultivation of the soil for the means of sustaining life, they were precluded from gathering together in large bodies, although there are many evidences that the State at one time was quite densely populated, and it is more than probable they wandered about as their fancy moved them, the forest furnishing shelter, fuel and game, while the lakes and rivers yielded an abundance of fish, and furnished an easy means of transportation. One of the strongest evidences of this migratory character is to be found in the fact that they had no general burying places. The burial mounds that have been examined show they were erected over individuals. This is true of all except the one at Vincennes and the one at Spencer, which have been referred to.

They were possessed of a degree of civilization, but it was not of a high order. It fell far short of what some writers in their enthusiasm would make it. They clothed themselves with a cloth spun with a uniform thread and woven with a warp and woof. The material used bears a close resemblance to the hemp of the present day. Several specimens of this cloth have been unearthed and are now preserved. A shuttle has also been found that bears evident marks of long use. While the cloth was of a coarse character, it was often highly ornamented. They understood how to make implements and tools. Of these, some were stone, some copper and a very few iron. The copper was obtained

from the Lake Superior region. The ancient mines there have been discovered. It is also evident they had some knowledge of smelting copper.

They were to some extent a commercial people. It is evident they traded to Lake Superior for copper and to Georgia for mica, and although no roads or highways have been found, such as were left in Mexico and Peru, yet the intercourse between the far distant parts of Superior and Georgia was not infrequent. They were also advanced in the manufacture and adornment of vessels for domestic use. The number of bowls, vases, water jugs, pitchers, drinking cups, sepulchral urns, water coolers, etc., that have been unearthed, is very large, and some of them are curiously carved and ornamented, but on nothing has there been found a letter or symbol that would give a clew to their language. No hieroglyphics such as were used by the Ancient Egyptians, no picture writing, such as Montezuma and his subjects used, have ever been discovered. All stories of stones with Hebrew letters or symbols of any kind, are silly attempts at fraud. Some of the finest specimens of pottery, pipes and carving that have been found anywhere, have been taken from the mounds of Indiana.

A great deal has been written about the art of the Mound Builders, and they have been held up as miracles in carving, all of which is the merest trifling. The high place in science and art attained by the Ancient Egyptians, and the glamour thrown over the civilization of the Toltecs of Mexico by the old Spanish writers, have led us to rank the civilization of all prehistoric races too high. Especially is this the case with the Mound Builders. A great deal of romancing on this subject has been done by various persons who have written at one time or another of the Mound

Builders and their work. It is as pleasant a thing to build theories as it is to dream dreams, and in many cases the one has nothing more substantial than the other. Many writers have endeavored to claim that the rude carvings found in the mounds are remarkable resemblances of beasts and birds. Upon this supposed likeness the writers build up a theory as to the origin and migration of the race. The real facts are, that many of the carved figures which have been claimed by writers to be "exact and perfect representations" of certain birds and beasts found in the old countries of the world, are in reality nothing more than rude imitations of animals and birds indigenous to the Mississippi Valley.

Nothing can be gathered of their burial customs. It is true that quite a number of skeletons have been found, but their positions or conditions give no clew to any settled or definite custom of disposing of the dead. The theory has been advanced that they were cremationists, and urns have been found which enthusiasts at once classed as burial urns. There is little or no foundation for the cremation theory. In some of the mounds flat stones covered with charcoal have been found. Beneath the stones, in a sort of vault, was a black mold which has been taken as the dust of the dead remaining after cremation. There is no stone in Indiana that would bear heat enough, applied in that way, to consume a body beneath it. It is doubtful if heat enough could be so applied if the stone would bear it. The presence of the mold can be accounted for in a dozen ways that are far more reasonable.

It has been held that in religion they were worshippers of the Sun, and that they offered human sacrifices. The fact that all the mounds look to the East is about the only thing upon which the theory of Sun worship is hinged, and that

proves very little. Practically there are no evidences, whatever, that they offered human sacrifices.

Were they a warlike race? That is a question hard to determine. The remains of their fortifications, except in a few instances, are of low earthworks, not over four or five feet high. It is evident they were a race of slaves, and such a race is seldom warlike. The burial mounds seldom contain more than two or three skeletons, and the positions in which they were placed give evidence that one was the superior and the others the inferiors. The crania proves the same fact. With many of the ancient races it was customary to bury one or more slaves with a dead ruler, or master, and this was likely the case with the Mound Builders.

To what age of the world are they to be assigned? How many centuries have rolled away since they disappeared? These are perplexing questions. It is a strange thought that away back in the dim past, perhaps as far back as the days of the Pharaohs, there existed in this, what we delight to call the "New World," a people numbering millions, who have died and left no trace of their history. Even the Moabites have left their stones covered over with strange symbols, but the Mound Builders have left nothing of the kind. On some of the mounds trees of more than a thousand years growth are standing. Their monuments, as seen in their architecture, sculpture, earthworks, shell-banks, etc., from their extent and numbers, furnish evidence of very high antiquity. The most ancient remains of man found on the earth are distinguished by the flattening of the tibia, and this peculiarity is found in an exaggerated degree in those of the Mound Builders. A distinguished writer on this subject says: "From the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, we have bones at least two thousand five hundred years old; from the

pyramids and catacombs of Egypt, both mummied and unmummied crania have been taken of still higher antiquity, in perfect preservation; nevertheless, the skeletons deposited in our mounds from the Lakes to the Gulf, are crumbling into dust through age alone." The peculiar anatomical construction of the few remaining crania not only prove the Mound Builders to have been very ancient, but that they were wholly unlike any other race known to have existed. A critical examination of the remains of this ancient race of America, and a comparison with those of all the other races of the world, tend to throw a doubt over the theory that all mankind descended from one common father.

Of other races we know something of their origin. We can account for the origin of all the races of Europe, Asia and Africa, but no one has yet been able to tell whence sprang the American Mound Builders, nor to present even a plausible theory on that much disputed point. We examine the relics they have left behind; we study their rude carvings; we measure the crania of their dead and then we put this and that together, and build up a theory as to their origin and proper place in history, but all we can do is to theorize. That the Mound Builders antedated by many years, perhaps centuries, the Toltecs of Mexico, can hardly be doubted, and the history of the Toltecs can be traced back nine centuries before the Christian era. The ancient records of the Toltecs repeatedly speak of a great empire to the northwest of them, and these same records declare that the Toltecs migrated from that empire to Mexico, and it is supposed this migration took place a thousand years before Christ. Whether the Toltecs were descendants of the Mound Builders, and became civilized after their migration to Mex-



ico, is yet an unsettled question. If the great empire referred to by the Toltecs was that of the Mound Builders, it becomes evident at once that the origin of the Mound Builders, and their first occupation of the American soil, must necessarily have been thousands of years ago. It is beyond all question that they disappeared more than a thousand years ago. Were they driven out by the Indians? If so, what a vast amount of sympathy we have wasted on the Red Men, for the Whites have only taken from them what they themselves had taken by violence before. Had the Mound Builders come into America by the way of Bering Straits, as has been claimed, or in any other way, it is apparent that some of the remains of the race from whence they sprung would have been found in some of the old countries.

The countless years they must have lived upon this soil fairly staggers us. When their mounds were piled up and their fortifications erected, Babylon was yet in the womb of Time. They were hoary with the frost of centuries before Romulus and Remus traced the foundations of the Eternal City. Their builders had been moldering in the dust for half a thousand years when Alexander swam the Hellespont. The more one studies the works of this ancient people, the more he is lost in wonder that a race so numerous and powerful, could so completely have passed away that even the period of its existence is the merest conjecture. It is as if they had existed before the flood and that the mighty storm which Noah and his family alone were able to safely outride, had swept them suddenly from the face of the earth, in the midst of their power and glory. It is hard to believe that they were utterly annihilated by another race. If so, from whence came that other race in numbers and power great enough to work such mighty devastation?

What a vast period of time separates us from the Mound Builders! What great strides the world has taken since they disappeared! From the stone age to the age of steel, what wonders have intervened! Truly, the Old World has passed away and all things have become new. There is a chasm of time, of history, between the two that man has not been able to bridge. The period of their existence is a blank leaf in the history of the world, that has not been written over. The Grave Creek Relic, the Cincinnati Tablet, the Davenport Stones, even if genuine, furnish no data. They were a race without a written language of any kind.

Modern civilization, with all its knowledge and wisdom, stands at the edge of the abyss of time which separates the present from the past, when this buried race lived and flourished, and can only speculate as to its origin, its life, history and fate. We stand upon the mounds erected by them, and wander around the fortifications, we gaze upon the implements of warfare left behind them, dropped, perhaps, by the warrior when stricken by death, and never touched by man again until picked up by the curious seeker after relics in these happy times of ours; we look at the skeletons as they are unearthed, speculate and theorize, and are forced to admit that of their time, manners and customs, origin and fate, the mystery is still impenetrable.

### CHAPTER III.

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#### INDIAN RACES.

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When the first European landed on the American continent he found here a peculiar people. A people so peculiar, in fact, that in moral and physical characteristics they were totally unlike any other known race. They also found a country abounding in plants and animals never known in any other country. The language, even, of the inhabitants found on this continent was entirely different and distinct from all the known languages of the world. It is said, however, that in the mountains of Japan, may be found the remnants of the aborigines of that kingdom, and that they bear a close resemblance in features, manners and customs to the Red Men of America. The inhabitants of America had marked peculiarities of features; high cheek bones, long, straight black hair, of special coarseness, a red complexion, and black eyes. Their habits were peculiar as well as their physical construction. They lived by hunting and fishing, with a very limited cultivation of the soil. They were fierce, vindictive, remarkably indifferent, stoical, grave in demeanor, and, more than all, treacherous and cowardly. They would fight, but never in the open field, or on equal terms, if they could avoid it. They preferred cunning to open, brave warfare.

They had no government of any kind, except a sort of

tribal relation. Their temperament was rather poetic, and imaginative, and they delighted in striking figures of speech. The men hunted, fished and fought, while the women did all the work. This did not arise so much from laziness as from a notion of pride, that the man must be a warrior, and that work of any kind was beneath the dignity of one whose calling was to battle. They roamed the woods, and had no abiding place for any length of time. The tribes were continually at war with each other, and in all dealings with their enemies they were peculiarly cruel. They never took prisoners in battle except to put them to the torture. Once in awhile a victim was saved from the torture by being adopted into the tribe by some member who had recently lost a son, or a husband. They were haughty and taciturn. Their symbol of peace was a pipe. Their implements of war were arrows and stone hatchets; those of husbandry were stone spades, or a sort of plow made of bone.

They were peculiarly indifferent to all things. They placed no great value upon anything, and upon life least of all. They were apparently without human affections. Unlike almost every other race they were wholly without any love or affection for their homes, or kindred. They looked upon everything as below them, and were given to boasting to an eminent degree. They had a stoicism that was absolutely wonderful. They withstood heat or cold with a like indifference. In times of plenty they gorged, and in times of scarcity they starved with the same indifference. They endured torture with a sort of ferocious glee. They delighted in inventing new methods of torture to increase the sufferings of their enemies, and nothing could so readily gain their favor or extort their admiration as to

bear the most intense suffering without a tremor. It was this capacity to suffer that earned them their title to bravery, but it was not courage, only a stoical indifference.

Their dress was of the scantiest kind, the men being almost naked and the women wearing a short petticoat made of wild hemp. When preparing for war the men adorned themselves with feathers and painted their faces in hideous colors. Their method of warfare consisted almost wholly in surprises, and they possessed peculiar powers of hiding their trail when on the war path, or in discovering that of their enemies. They lurked in ambush, and would often lie hidden away for days without food or water, waiting for an opportunity to surprise and slay some member of another tribe. Another marked peculiarity was to always carry off their own dead, not for the purpose of sepulture, but to conceal their loss from the enemy.

They had no religion, but believed in one God, the Great Spirit, by whom all things were made. They also believed in a future state, a complete resurrection, but they had no distinctive religious ceremonies. They had traditions of the origin of man and of the flood. They had no written language, or sign writing. There were hundreds of tribes of these aborigines, but the language of no two was wholly the same, although bearing some resemblance. Having no written language they, of course, had no history, not even by tradition or legend. They did, or at least some of the tribes did, have traditions of their own tribal origin, but they were so vague that nothing could be gathered from them.

Many writers have tried to solve the question as to their origin, but none have yet found a satisfactory answer. Had the European visited this continent a century before he did he would not have found any of these aborigines on the At-

lantic coast. The weight of tradition, backed by all the circumstances that are known, is to the effect that the first place on the American continent occupied by them, was in the extreme northwest. As other tribes crossed from the old world they drove those who had been earlier in coming, toward the east and south. They were thus pushed eastward from period to period just as the white man has again pushed them westward. Many writers have tried to connect them with the Hebrew race, setting up that they were the descendants of the ten lost tribes, so-called. The following points of resemblance have been pointed out:

- 1.—Their division into tribes.
- 2.—Their worship of one great spirit.
- 3.—Their belief in ministering angels.
- 4.—Their orders of prophets and high priests.
- 5.—Their manner of counting time.
- 6.—Their festivals, fasts, and other religious rites.
- 7.—Their laws of uncleanness.
- 8.—Their ablutions and anointments.
- 9.—Their customs relative to marriage, divorce and adultery.
- 10.—Their purifications and ceremonies before going to war.
- 11.—Their manner of curing the sick.
- 12.—Their ceremonies at the burial of their dead.
- 13.—Their mourning for their dead.
- 14.—Their choice of names adapted to circumstances and times.
- 15.—Their patriarchal form of government.
- 16.—Their belief in a future state of existence.
- 17.—Their belief in witchcraft.

These resemblances are all very slight, with the excep-  
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tion of their belief in one God, and in a future existence. Did they drive out or destroy the Mound Builders? If so they possessed no tradition of the fact, and it is hardly possible that a race so given to boasting would have neglected to hand down by tradition such an important event. The probabilities are that the Mound Builders had ceased to be inhabitants of America ages before the advent of the Indians. It is almost certain they were not the descendants of the Mound Builders, for they had none of the manners or customs of that race. They never erected mounds or fortifications, and there is a very marked difference between the crania of the Indians and of the Mound Builders.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Algonquin family of Indians occupied a vast region of territory in North America. They occupied all that territory from 37 degrees to 53 degrees north latitude and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River. Their territory was bounded on the northeast by the Esquimaux, on the northwest by the Athabaskan tribes, on the west by the Dacotahs and on the south by the Cherokees, and Natchez Indians. This family was made up of numerous tribes, resembling each other in manners, customs and dialects. Within this same territory dwelt some other tribes, differing essentially from the Algonquins. The Algonquins were the hereditary enemies of the Iroquois. Nearly all the tribes found in Indiana were of the Algonquin family.

When the first white man invaded the soil of Indiana he found here several tribes, sometimes living at peace with each other, but more often at war. Indiana was then the seat of the great Miami Confederacy. This Confederacy had been organized as against that of the Iroquois, or Five Nations. When the Iroquois had reached the Atlantic and

found that they could go no farther east, and felt the western tribes still pushing them, they formed a Confederacy of five of the largest tribes, for the purpose of protecting themselves and driving back toward the setting sun those who were following in their wake toward the east. Individual tribes had sought to gain a foothold on the eastern side of the mountains, but had been repulsed by the Iroquois Confederation, and they, too, in turn made a union.

Among the principal tribes which formed this Miami Confederacy, in Indiana, were the Twightwees, Weas, Piankashaws, and Shockneys. They had fought many and bloody battles with the Iroquois, and had been worsted in the contest, and had been greatly reduced in numbers by the time the white man first invaded their territory. They dwelt in small villages along the various water courses, from the lakes to the Ohio River. The Piankashaws occupied the territory east of the Wabash, and north of the Ohio, as far east as Lawrence County, and as far north as Vigo. The Wyandots had a little section comprising what is now Harrison, Crawford, Spencer, Perry, Dubois and Orange Counties; the Shawnees occupied the land east of the Wyandots into the present State of Ohio, and as far north as Rush and Fayette Counties; the Weas had their possessions along the Wabash with their principal villages near where Lafayette now stands; the Twightwees were principally located along the St. Joseph and St. Mary Rivers; the Pottawattamies held the whole northern part of the State, and the Delawares the central eastern part. One branch of the Shawnees had villages in the country to the south and east of that occupied by the Weas.

The Delawares, the Wyandots, the Shawnees and Pottawattamies were the strongest of these tribes. The Dela-



wares, according to a tradition of their tribe, at one time possessed the entire western portion of the continent. They frequently called themselves the "Lenni Lenape." They traveled eastward until they reached the Mississippi River where they met the warlike Iroquois, with whom they formed a league against the other tribes. The combination of these two warlike tribes enabled them to conquer all the smaller tribes who were then east of the Mississippi, and they at once laid claim to all the territory from the Great River to the Atlantic ocean. A division of this territory was made between the two tribes, the Delawares taking all that from the Potomac River on the south to the Hudson on the north. They subsequently became divided up into smaller tribes, which resulted finally in their overthrow and almost complete destruction. It was from the Delawares William Penn purchased Pennsylvania.

They quarreled with the Iroquois or Five Nations, and were subjugated by them. They were driven westward across the Alleghany Mountains and finally made their principal home in what is now the State of Ohio, about the year 1768, almost one hundred and twenty-five years after their subjugation by the Iroquois. During the Revolutionary War they operated with the British against the Americans, and made many a desperate and bloody foray on the frontier settlements. They took part in the great battle wherein St. Clair was so disastrously defeated. In 1795 the United States got possession of their lands on the Muskingum, and they removed into Indiana where they remained until 1819, when they removed west of the Mississippi. All of them, however, did not follow the main tribe, but some remained for a long time in the east, hovering around Pittsburg. The Wolf tribe was one of these branches, and was the one which captured and burned to death Colonel Crawford.

The Wyandots had a varied experience. They were a fragmentary branch of the Tobacco nation of Hurons. Like the Delawares they were the victims of the Iroquois. They originally had their home around Michillimackinac and were driven from there to the islands at the mouth of Green Bay. They were not permitted to rest there and finally fled southward to the country of the Illinois, and from thence westward to the Mississippi, where they met the bloody Sioux. The Sioux drove them backward over the very track they had come and they finally made a settlement in southern Michigan, a part of them going into Ohio, where they wielded a great influence over the neighboring tribes. The Wyandots joined Pontiac in his war.

When the French first landed at Quebec and Montreal, in 1535, the Hurons occupied the northern side of the St. Lawrence westward to Lake Huron. The Senecas occupied the southern side of the St. Lawrence, and long and bloody wars raged between the two nations. They finally left the St. Lawrence and removed westward, being pursued by the Senecas, who were finally almost destroyed by the Hurons. From their settlement in Ohio a small branch penetrated into southern Indiana.

The Shawnees were the fiercest of all the tribes that occupied any of the land now in the State of Indiana. They were originally from Georgia, whence they were driven into Kentucky, finally settling near Chillicothe, Ohio, but some of them going to near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. They were incessantly at war. Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet were of this tribe. The Shawnees were always the enemies of the Americans, and of the British when they controlled this country. They were among the most active of the Indian allies of the French during the seven years war,

and after the conquest of Canada they continued hostilities for a long time. They were the most determined enemies of the American settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains, and were continually making fierce inroads into Kentucky. They took an active part against America both during the War of Independence and the Indian war which followed. By the treaty at Greenville in 1795 they lost nearly all their territory in Ohio, and most of them removed to Indiana. A part of them followed Tecumseh when he joined the British standard during the War of 1812, and took part in the battle of the Thames where Tecumseh was killed. They finally sold their lands in Indiana to the Government and removed west of the Mississippi.

The Pottawattamies, were at one time a very powerful and warlike tribe. When any of the tribes made war on the Americans the Pottawattamies were sure to be found taking up the tomahawk. They united with the French as against the British; with other tribes, to fight the British, and with the British as against the Americans. They were at Harmar's defeat, at the overthrow of St. Clair, and were among the fiercest of those who fought Mad Anthony Wayne. Some of them took part in the defeat of Colonel Crawford and danced around his burning body. They joined Pontiac in his conspiracy, and Black Hawk when he opened up the last Indian war east of the Mississippi. They were always among the first to make peace with the whites, and also among the first to take up the tomahawk again. Some of them fought at Tippecanoe and some at the battle of the Thames. They were finally moved west of the Mississippi. They claimed all northern Indiana, and southern Michigan. A few of the tribe still linger in Michigan.

The Miamis were the most powerful tribe in the West.

They had been gradually migrating toward the east, when they met and had to battle with the Iroquois, who were just then being driven westward by the advancing Europeans. They settled in what is now the State of Ohio, and as this was the natural highway to the Mississippi Valley from the east, the Iroquois made many determined efforts to drive them away. The wars between the two nations were frequent and bloody, and as the Iroquois were the first to receive arms from the white man, they usually had the best of it. Little Turtle, one of the chiefs of the Miamis, thus described the claims of the tribe: "My forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the headwaters of the Scioto; from thence to the mouth; from thence down the Ohio river to the mouth of the Wabash; and from there to Chicago over Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere seen." When the French first entered Indiana they found the Miamis in complete control. They received the newcomers with great cordiality, and gave them land at Vincennes and at Ouiatenon, and afterward gave to General George Rogers Clark 150,000 acres at the Falls of the Ohio. Some of the members of the tribe engaged in most of the wars against the whites, but as a confederation they were generally well disposed to the French. The Miamis had a varied migratory experience. They were among the finest of all the race of Indians, and proudly called themselves "Men." In fact, that was their real name. They were "men," warriors, statesmen, men above all the other tribes. They were met everywhere in the West; around Superior, the upper Mississippi, and in Ohio and Indiana. They were heroic, warlike. They had long and bloody contests with the Sioux and Sacs and

Foxes, until only the Miamis and Weas were left. The rest had been scattered. In 1669 they were mostly found around Green Bay, Wisconsin. From there most of them soon moved to Chicago, and then to the St. Joseph of the Lake, and then to the head of the Maumee, and there their principal villages were located. In 1680 the Iroquois declared war against the Illinois, who had been the friends and allies of the Miamis, and the wily Iroquois for awhile disarmed the suspicions of the Miamis. In 1682 war again was declared. By this time La Salle was a leading spirit among the Indians of this part of the country, and by his influence the Miamis, Shawnees, Weas, Illinois and Piankashaws were gathered around his fort on the Illinois River. The Iroquois vainly endeavored to overthrow this formidable confederation. By this effort of La Salle all the Indians had been drawn away from Indiana, and the Miamis did not return until 1712.

Around the Maumee and the Wabash they thereafter lived until finally they yielded their lands to the whites. A few of their descendants still remain in Indiana. The Miamis were not as lazy as most of the tribes, and raised corn, small fruits and vegetables. They had one peculiar feature. Some civilized nations have had their public executioners, whose duty it was to execute all criminals, and this office was a sort of hereditary one. So it was with the Miamis. They frequently condemned their captives to be eaten, and this eating was all done by one family, trained for that purpose, and the office remained in the same family generation after generation. The eating was always done in public, and was surrounded by certain religious rites and ceremonies. The last victim known to have been killed and eaten was a young Kentuckian who was thus disposed of at the

Miami village near the present site of Fort Wayne. The best description of this fearful deed is found in a speech delivered by General Lewis Cass, July 4, 1843, at Fort Wayne, on the opening of the Wabash and Erie Canal. He said:

“For many years during the frontier history of this place and region, the line of your canal was a bloody war path, which has seen many a deed of horror. And this peaceful town has had its Moloch, and the records of human depravity furnish no more terrible examples of cruelty than were offered at his shrine. The Miami Indians, our predecessors in the occupation of this district, had a terrible institution, whose origin and object have been lost in the darkness of aboriginal history, but which was continued to a late period, and whose orgies were held upon the very spot where we now are. It was called the man eating society, and it was the duty of its associates to eat such prisoners as were preserved and delivered to them for that purpose. The members of this society belonged to a particular family, and the dreadful inheritance descended to all the children, male and female. The duties it imposed could not be avoided, and the sanction of religion were added to the obligations of immemorial usage. The feast was a solemn ceremony, at which the whole tribe was collected as actors or spectators. The miserable victim was bound to a stake, and burned at a slow fire, with all the refinements of cruelty which savage ingenuity could invent. There was a traditionary ritual, which regulated with revolting precision the whole course of procedure at those ceremonies. Latterly the authority and obligations of the institution had declined, and I presume it has now wholly disappeared. But I have seen and conversed with the head of the family, the chief of the society, whose name was White-Skin—with what feeling of

disgust I need not attempt to describe. I well knew an intelligent Canadian, who was present at one of the last sacrifices made at this horrible institution. The victim was a young American captured in Kentucky near the close of the Revolutionary War. Here, where we are now assembled, in peace and security, celebrating the triumph of art and industry, within the memory of the present generation, our countrymen have been thus tortured, murdered and devoured. But, thank God, that council fire is extinguished. The impious feast is over; the war dance is ended; the war song is unsung; the war drum is silent, and the Indian has departed."

The Miamis were at first greatly attached to the French, but in 1748 made a treaty with the British, but they never forgot their old friends and allies. The Miamis produced one of the most remarkable chiefs and warriors known in American aboriginal history, if not the most remarkable. Me-che-can-noch-qua, or Little Turtle, was a warrior who could well take rank with the greatest of civilized nations. He was a man of extraordinary courage, sagacity and talents, and a physical frame which equaled his courage. There was a great dignity in his bearing, which impressed whites and Indians alike. He reached the head of his nation at an early age, and from that time until his death exercised an influence over his tribe never equaled by any other of its great chiefs. He it was who met and defeated the forces of General Harmar. His two battles with the troops of that commander displayed his powers as a General. He commanded the allied forces of Indians who administered to St. Clair such a terrible punishment, thereby setting the continent in a blaze. He also fought General Anthony Wayne, and came near defeating that great soldier.

After the treaty at Greenville, Little Turtle visited Philadelphia where he met and was entertained by Volney and Kosciusko. While there his portrait was painted by one of the most distinguished artists of the time. He was also presented a sword by President Washington. He made two other visits to the East, one in 1801 and the last in 1807. He was everywhere received with the greatest consideration. He had warred against the Americans, but when peace was made he accepted it as final, and ever afterward remained a steadfast friend of the whites. He opposed the attempt of Tecumseh to form a confederacy against the Americans. He died in 1812 and was buried with great honors at Fort Wayne.

The last two chiefs of the Miamis, died and were buried near Peru, in Miami County, Indiana. The last great war chief was Pa-lonz-wa, or Frances Godfrey, as he was better known among the whites. Pa-lonz-wa was a man of daring courage, of magnificent physique and immense size. He was the son of a Frenchman, and, next to Little Turtle, was the most noted chief the Miamis ever had. Through nearly all the time of his chieftainship he was a firm friend of the whites. As early as 1822 he employed some workmen from Fort Wayne to build for him, on the banks of the Wabash, a large house, after the manner and style of the white man of wealth. In this house he dispensed the most generous hospitality, and Indian and white man alike were welcome to his board. When his tribe made the final treaty with the Government and ceded possession of their lands in Indiana, four sections, on the Mississinnewa, were reserved for Pa-lonz-wa. On this reservation he erected a trading post, and became, for those days, a noted merchant. Reckless and careless of money, and having more land than he knew



what to do with, he scattered his favors with a prodigal hand. It is told of him, that being at Lafayette, on one occasion, when a steamboat arrived at that point from the Ohio River, he offered the captain a half section of land if he would convey him and his party to their homes, some three miles above where Peru now stands. The offer was accepted and the trip up the Wabash was made, but on the return to Lafayette the steamer was lost. Pa-lonz-wa made the deed to the promised half section.

He died in 1840, and was buried on a high knoll which overlooks the Wabash. On his grave a marble shaft has been erected, bearing on one side his white name, and date of his birth and death. On the other is the following tribute to his memory: "Late Principal Chief of the Miami Nation of Indians. Distinguished for courage, humanity, benevolence and honor, he lived in his native forests an illustration of the nobleness of his race, enjoying the confidence of his tribe and beloved by his American neighbors. He died as he lived, 'without fear or reproach.'" His funeral was one of the noted events of that day, and was attended by hundreds of Indians and whites. The principal address was delivered by Wa-pa-pin-sha, a noted Indian orator of his tribe. Translated it is as follows:

"Brothers, the Great Spirit has taken to Himself another of our once powerful and happy, but now declining nation. The time has been when these forests were densely populated by the Red Men, but the same hand whose blighting touch withered the majestic frame before us, and caused the noble spirit by which it was animated to seek another home, has dealt in a like manner with his and our fathers; in like manner will He deal with us. Death of late, has been common among us. So much so that a recurrence of it scarcely

elicits our notice. But when the brave, the generous, the patriotic are blasted by it, then it is the tears of sorrow flow. Such is now the case. Our brother who has just left us was brave, generous and patriotic, and as a tribute to his merit, and a reward for his goodness, the tears, not only of his own people, but of many white men, who are here assembled to witness his funeral rites, freely flow.

“At this scene, the poor of his people weep, because at his table they were wont to feast and rejoice. The weak mourn his death because his authority was ever directed for their protection. But he has left the earth—the place of vexation and contention—and is now participating with Pocahontas and Logan in those joys prepared by the Great Spirit for such as well and faithfully discharge their duties here. Brothers, let us emulate his example and practice his virtues.”

Pa-lonz-wa was followed in the chieftainship of his tribe by John Baptiste Big Leg, who was the last chief of the Miamis. He lies buried by the side of Pa-lonz-wa, and a plain marble slab marks the spot where his bones lie. It bears the following inscription: “Head Chief of the Miami and Kansas Tribe. A brave Warrior, a generous man, and a good Christian.” Some of Godfrey’s descendants yet live on the Mississinnewa.

The Indians were exceedingly fond of intoxicating liquor, and would travel any distance, undergo any hardships, and barter away any of their possessions to obtain it. In his first message to the General Assembly of Indiana Territory, in July, 1805, Governor Harrison said:

“The interests of your constituents, the interests of the miserable Indians, and your own feelings, will sufficiently urge you to take it into your most serious consideration, and

provide the remedy which is to save thousands of our fellow creatures. You are witnesses to the abuses; you have seen our towns crowded with furious and drunken savages; our streets flowing with their blood; their arms and clothing bartered for the liquor that destroys them; and their women and children enduring all the extremities of cold and hunger. So destructive has the progress of intemperance been among them that whole villages have been swept away. A miserable remnant is all that remains to mark the names and situation of many numerous and warlike tribes. In the energetic language of one of their orators, it is a dreadful conflagration, which spreads misery and desolation through the country and threatens the annihilation of the whole race."

Even in the early days it was a problem with the whites how to destroy or get rid of the Indians. The United States Indian Agent, at Fort Wayne, in 1815, struck a new and highly original way of solving the question. In a letter to the then Secretary of War, William H. Crawford, he said:

"It is much cheaper reducing them [the Indians] by meat and bread than by the force of arms; and from the observations I have had the opportunity of making, that three or four months of feeding on meat and bread, even without ardent spirits, will bring on disease, and, in six or eight months, great mortality. And would it be considered a proper warfare? I believe more Indians might be killed with the expense of one hundred thousand dollars in this way than one million dollars expended in the support of armies to go against them." This was a new and unique application of the command: "If thine enemy hunger, give him meat, and if he thirst, give him drink."

In 1765, just after the territory northwest of the Ohio

River was ceded to the British, by France, Colonel George Groghan, an Indian agent of the Province of Pennsylvania visited the various tribes, and made the following statement in reference to the tribes then found occupying the territory:

"Twightwees [Miamis], two hundred and fifty fighting men, reside on the Miami [Maumee] River, near Fort Miami; hunting ground where they reside.

"Wayoughtanies, three hundred fighting men; Pyankeshas, three hundred fighting men; Shockays, two hundred fighting men; reside on the branches of the Ouabache, near Fort Ouiatenon; hunting grounds between Ouiatenon and the Miamis.

"Huskhuskeys, three hundred fighting men; Illinois, three hundred fighting men; reside near the French settlements in the Illinois country; hunting grounds about Lake Erie.

"Wayandotts, two hundred and fifty fighting men; Ottawas, four hundred fighting men; Putawatimes, one hundred and fifty fighting men; reside near Fort Detroit.

"Chippewas, two hundred fighting men; Ottawas two hundred fighting men; reside on Saganna creek, which empties into Lake Huron; hunting grounds thereabouts.

"Chippewas, four hundred fighting men; Ottawas, two hundred and sixty fighting men; reside near Michillimackinac; hunting grounds on the north side of Lake Huron.

"Chippewas, four hundred fighting men; reside near the entrance of Lake Superior, and not far from St. Mary's.

"Chippewas, Mynonamies, Shockays, five hundred and fifty fighting men; reside near Fort Labay, on Lake Michigan; hunting grounds thereabouts.

"Putawatimes, one hundred and fifty fighting men; Ot-

tawas, one hundred and fifty fighting men; reside near St. Joseph's; hunting grounds thereabouts.

"Kickapoos, Outtagamies, Musquatans, Miscotins, Outtamacks, Musquakeys; in all four thousand fighting men; reside on Lake Michigan, and between it and the Mississippi; hunting grounds where they reside."

While blood-curdling stories are not always to be commended in historical works, it is proper, to an appreciation of what the early settlers of Indiana had to brave, that some relations of Indian atrocities should be given.

In the many forays made by the Indians during the struggle between France and Great Britain for supremacy in America, and by the sudden outbreak of the Indians under the leadership of Pontiac, many settlers were slain, and hundreds of prisoners taken and carried away into captivity. Most of these prisoners were women and children, and years had elapsed since they had been captured, and their fate was unknown. The expedition of Colonel Bouquet, against the settlements of the Shawnees and other hostile tribes, brought about the release of more than two hundred of these captives. Colonel Robert S. Robertson, in his *History of the Upper Maumee Valley*, thus graphically describes the scene which followed:

"Among the many prisoners brought into the camp, husbands found their wives, and parents their children, from whom they had been separated for many years. Women, frantic between hope and fear, were running hither and thither, looking piercingly into the face of every child. Some of the little captives shrank from their forgotten mothers, and hid in terror in the blankets of the squaws that had adopted them. Some that had been taken away young, had grown up and married Indian husbands or Indian

wives, now stood utterly bewildered with conflicting emotions. A young Virginian had found his wife; but his little boy, not two years old when captured, had been torn from her, and had been carried off, no one knew where. One day a warrior came in leading a child. At first no one seemed to own it. But soon the mother knew her offspring, and screaming with joy, folded her son to her bosom. An old woman had lost her grand-daughter in the French war nine years before. All her other relatives had died under the knife. Searching with trembling eagerness, in each face, she at last recognized the altered features of her child. But the girl had forgotten her native tongue, and returned no answer, and made no sign. The old woman groaned and complained bitterly, that the daughter she had so often sung to sleep on her knee, had forgotten her in her old age. Soldiers and officers were alike overcome. 'Sing,' said Bouquet, to the old lady, 'sing the song you used to sing.' As the low trembling tones began to ascend, the wild girl seemed startled, then listening for a moment longer, she burst into a flood of tears. She was indeed the lost child, but all else had been effaced from her memory, save the recollection of that sweet cradle song. The tender sensibilities were foreign, as a general rule, to the Indian heart; indeed, they held such emotions in contempt; but when the song of the old lady was seen by them to touch the captive's heart and bring her again to a mother's arms, they were overcome with sympathy. Many captive women who returned with their friends to the settlements soon afterward made their escape, and wandered back to their Indian husbands, so great was the change that had taken place in their natures."

One of the strangest and most remarkable discoveries  
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and recognition of a captive, is that of Frances Slocum. In 1777 Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, was a straggling settlement made up of the cabins of half a dozen or more Quaker families. Among them was one family by the name of Slocum, consisting of father and mother, and four or five small children, one of which was Frances, who was then some six or seven years of age. One evening, in the summer of 1777, while Frances and two or three of her playmates were engaged in amusing themselves, in front of the cabin, and on the edge of the forest, several Indians suddenly sprang upon them, killed one and carried Frances and another girl away into captivity. A sister and brother of Frances escaped and gave the alarm, but nothing could be heard of the captives. The years rolled around, one after another, and the father and mother of Frances went down to their graves mourning the unknown fate of their little one. The brothers and sisters grew up, and became aged and gray-haired men and women, and still no tidings were received, until three score years had slipped away into the past. Sixty years after the capture the first tidings reached the aged relatives.

In 1834-5 George W. Ewing was the United States agent among the Miami Indians, then claiming nearly all the northern half of Indiana. In visiting the Indian village on the banks of the Mississinnewa, not far from where the city of Peru now stands, he stopped at the cabin of Sha-pah-cannah, the head chief of the tribe. There he met the aged wife of the chief. In her movements about the wigwam she exposed some parts of her limbs, and Mr. Ewing became satisfied that she was not an Indian, but in reality was white. He interrogated her in the Indian language, and she told him that she was white, and that she could remember that she had been stolen, while a little child, by some members

of the Delaware tribe. She could not remember what her name was, nor where her home had been, but she believed her father's name was Slocum, and that he had lived somewhere on the banks of the Susquehanna. She also remembered that he was a Quaker, and that he was a short, heavy set man. She had no recollection of any other members of the family, except that she had brothers and sisters. Her story was that she had been adopted into the tribe of the Delawares, and with them moved from place to place, until she became a grown woman. She had then married a Delaware chief who was shortly afterward killed in battle. After a few years of widowhood she had become the wife of Sha-pah-can-nah, who was her husband at the time of Mr. Ewing's visit. Her story was confirmed by her husband.

On his return to his home in Logansport, Mr. Ewing committed the story as he had heard it to paper, and addressed the statement to the editor of "Any Newspaper in Lancaster, Pennsylvania," this being the only place of any importance he could remember on the Susquehanna, and requested its publication, in hopes that some of the family were still surviving, and might thus be led to a knowledge of the long lost. At that time no paper was published in Lancaster, and the letter remained in the postoffice uncalled for. About two years afterward Hon. John W. Forney went to Lancaster, and began the publication of a paper. After he had been there some time, the postmaster remembered the letter which had been lying on his shelf so long. He gave it to Mr. Forney, and it was printed. It was copied into many of the other papers of Pennsylvania, and finally, in 1837, came under the notice of Isaac Slocum, a man of nearly fourscore years of age. He knew it was the story of his long lost sister Frances. The old man, together with



the sister who had escaped when Frances was captured, crossed the mountains, and sought out the little Indian village on the Mississinnewa. He had written to Mr. Ewing and informed him of his expected visit. Mr. Ewing met him and accompanied him to the village. On his way Mr. Slocum told his new friend, that if the white woman at the village was his sister Frances, she would have a scar upon one of the fingers of her left hand, made by him with a hammer, when they were children on the banks of the Susquehanna. The brother and sister met, but neither could recognize the other, but the scar was there, and upon being interrogated by Mr. Ewing as to what had caused it, she told the story as it had been related by her brother. Every effort was made to induce her to return to civilized life, but all in vain. She had lived with the Indians for sixty years, and could not give them up. She remained at the Indian village and died there a few years later.

Frequently several tribes would join together in a foray on the white settlements, and when prisoners were captured, they would be divided among the tribes. In 1790, John May, a Government surveyor, together with Charles Johnson, a Mr. Skyles, a Mr. Flinn, and two sisters by the name of Flemming, while descending the Ohio River, were captured by a raiding party of Miamis, Delawares and Cherokees. One of the ladies was killed. The prisoners were distributed to the different bands. Flinn was taken to the villages of the Miamis, and there roasted to death and eaten. A Canadian trader, who was present, described the scene. Flinn was seized and tied to a stake. The trader tried to save him. He offered several kegs of rum as a ransom, but the Indians broke the heads of the kegs and poured out the rum. He then offered several hundred silver brooches,

but they were rejected. The brush was piled up around the victim at the stake and fired. Not a groan escaped from the doomed man. He walked calmly around the stake for several hours, until his flesh was roasted and the fire burned down. An old squaw approached to rekindle it, but Flinn was not dead. He suddenly administered to her a kick that rendered her unconscious for some time. The Indians then bored his ankles, and passing thongs through the sinews, fastened them closely to the stake, so as to render him utterly helpless. His sufferings were continued for several hours, when he was at last despatched by a tomahawk. His body was carved and eaten.

Skyles was conducted to one of the towns on the Maumee, and though he suffered terrible tortures he finally escaped with his life. While tied to a stake he was forced to submit to torture at the hands of the boys. One of them procured a thorn switch, and drove the largest thorn into the naked body of Skyles, and left it sticking there. He was kept at the village until he finally made his escape. He became lost in the woods and wandered around for several days, until almost starved, and finally in his despair entered an Indian village from which the warriors were temporarily absent. He had painted himself so as not to be recognized. He made himself known to a trader, who concealed him until an opportunity was offered for his escape. He finally reached Detroit. Johnston was ransomed by a French trader. Miss Flemming had fallen to the lot of the Cherokees in the division of spoils. She was taken also to the Miami villages. A white man who had been stolen from Pittsburg, while a boy, and had been raised among the Indians, interested himself in her behalf. She was in a terrible condition of emaciation, and had suffered almost every

hardship. The white man appealed to "Old King Crane," a Miami chief, who went to the Cherokee village and endeavored to secure her release. They refused to listen to him, and declared their intention to torture her. "Old King Crane" determined to rescue her at all hazards. He returned to his own village, collected his young warriors and before daylight was again at the Cherokee camp. He found the young woman entirely naked, and bound to a stake, around which the fuel had been prepared. Her body had been painted black. He caused her to be released and clothed, and then coolly informed the Cherokees that the squaw was his, and if they did not like it his young men were ready to try the issue. She was finally restored to her friends.

Page after page might be filled with similar accounts of the terrors that surrounded the early settlers, but enough has been given to keep the memory of their sufferings alive.

## CHAPTER IV.

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### CAPTURE OF VINCENNES.

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As has been heretofore narrated the French posts in Indiana had been transferred to the English, at the conclusion of the great French war. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the white settlements in Indiana were much exposed to Indian depredations. There were only three of them and they were widely separated. These posts were under the jurisdiction of Canada, and Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, of the province, received orders from the British Government, "to assemble as many of the Indians of his district as he conveniently can, and placing a proper person at their head, to conduct their parties, and restrain them from committing violence on the well-affected inoffensive inhabitants, employ them in making a diversion and exciting an alarm on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania." At that time Kentucky was a part of Virginia, and it was not long after Governor Hamilton received his orders, before Indian raids were frequent on the various Kentucky settlements. In Kentucky, and one of its foremost and enterprising citizens, was George Rogers Clark. He had settled in Kentucky in 1776, and by his extraordinary character soon became a leader. He had secured the organization of Kentucky as a Virginia County, and had

also secured from the Mother Commonwealth a supply of ammunition for the defense of the frontier.

He was a born soldier, and his fertile mind soon saw that the surest defense of Kentucky was to attack and capture the posts north of the Ohio River under the jurisdiction of Canada. He saw further than that. His mind leaped over the years, and he saw that when liberty should come to the colonies, possession of these posts would give to the colonies a vast territory, reaching to the lakes and westward to the Mississippi River. He conceived the idea of organizing an expedition to capture Kaskaskia, Vincennes and Detroit. If those posts could be taken and held, the Indians could be kept in subjection. In the summer of 1777 he sent two spies through the Indian countries, who brought back intelligence that the British garrisons were actively urging the Indians to prosecute the war, but that there were many French settlers at the posts who were very kindly disposed to the Americans.

Patrick Henry was Governor of Virginia, and to him Clark went with his plan for the conquest of the Northwest. The daring project caught the fancy of Governor Henry, and he believed in its feasibility. In January, 1778, the Governor gave Clark two sets of instructions, one for the public and the other for his own private use. The first authorized him to raise 350 men for militia service in Kentucky, and the other directed him to use the force, when raised, to attack the British post at Kaskaskia. He was furnished £1,200 in the depreciated colonial currency. He was also to receive a supply of ammunition at Pittsburg. Thomas Jefferson, and some of the other leading citizens of Virginia to whom the project had been submitted, promised to use their influence to secure a bounty of 300 acres of land

for each man engaged in the enterprise, provided the attempt should be successful. The following is a copy of the secret instructions given to General Clark:

“Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark: You are to proceed, with all convenient speed, to raise seven companies of soldiers to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner and armed most properly for the enterprise, and with this force attack the British post at Kaskaskia.

“It is conjectured that there are many pieces of cannon, and military stores to considerable amount at that place, the taking and preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate, therefore, to succeed in your expectation, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores and whatever may advantage the State.

“For the transportation of the troops, provisions, etc., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt for boats; and during the whole transaction you are to take especial care to keep the true destination of your force secret. Its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to Captain Smith to secure the two men from Kaskaskia. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

“It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects, and other persons, as fall into your hands. If the white inhabitants at that post and the neighborhood will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this State (for it is certain they live within its limits) by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow-citizens, and their persons and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever shall be afforded them, and the commonwealth of Virginia is pledged

to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands they must feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which it is expected you will ever consider as the rule of your conduct, and from which you are in no instance to depart.

"The corps you are to command are to receive the pay and allowance of militia, and to act under the laws and regulations of this State now in force as militia. The inhabitants at this post will be informed by you, that in case they accede to the offers of becoming citizens of this commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them, and every attention bestowed to render their commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the dominions of both France and Spain.

"It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskaskia will be easily brought thither; or otherwise secured as circumstances will make necessary.

"You are to apply to General Hand for powder and lead necessary for this expedition. If he can't supply it, the person who has that which Captain Lynn brought from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders, and that may be delivered to you.

"Wishing you success, I am, sir, your humble servant,

"P. HENRY."

Clark met with considerable opposition in enlisting men, but finally started down the Ohio River with 150 men. He landed at the falls of the Ohio, on what is now known as Corn Island, and built a block house for the protection of his supplies. Clark now informed his men of the real design of the expedition, and several of them deserted that night.

Clark was not at all discouraged by these desertions, but embarked with his remaining force, now numbering only 153 men. He had designed to make his first attack on Vincennes, but had received information that the garrison at that post had lately been strengthened. He determined to make a dash at Kaskaskia.

His men rowed night and day, and on June 28 reached the mouth of the Tennessee River. There he left his boats and dashed across the country to Kaskaskia, which he reached on the night of July 4, causing great terror by his unexpected appearance. He soon quieted the alarm among the French settlers by informing them that they should not be molested, but should be protected in all their rights. They had never become reconciled to the British occupation, and on receiving these assurances from Clark, testified their joy by singing and decorating the streets with flowers. The settlers at Cahokia, on hearing from their French brethren at Kaskaskia of the appearance of Clark, came forward and surrendered to the Americans. Vincennes was now the object of interest, and he was anxious to know its exact condition. He was also troubled over the smallness of his force, knowing that Vincennes was surrounded by a large force of Indians supposed to be friendly to the British. Father Gibault and Dr. Lafonte, of Kaskaskia, volunteered to go to Vincennes and win over the French inhabitants. When they arrived at the post they found that the commander was absent at Detroit. Within a few hours they won the people over, and they marched in a body to the church and took the oath of allegiance. The fort was garrisoned and a commander selected.

The Indians were astonished at this sudden change. For more than fifty years, however, prior to the occupation of



the post by the British, they had been on friendly terms with the French and had recognized the French King as their Great Father. Father Gibault told them that the French King was now the friend of the Americans, and was angry with them for fighting for the British. This worked a sudden change in them, and they at once became the friend of the Americans. The news of this sudden success was soon conveyed to Clark, but he had another and a very serious trouble to contend with. The time for which he had enlisted his men had expired, and he had no authority for re-enlisting them. The exigency was great, but he was equal to it. He at once made large promises to all who would remain with him for eight months. About one hundred of them decided to remain with him, and he filled his ranks from among the French settlers. Captain Leonard Helm was put in command at Vincennes, and appointed "Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the Wabash." Helm made friends with the neighboring Indian tribes and sent runners to all the tribes in the Northwest.

The success of Clark soon reached Lieutenant Governor Hamilton at Detroit, and he at once determined to recover the lost ground. With a force of British regulars, Canadian volunteers and Indians he marched to Vincennes. Helm had but one man in the fort, but he put on a bold face, loaded his one cannon and stood by it with a lighted match in his hand, declaring that no one should enter the fort until he knew the terms that would be given the garrison. Hamilton announced that the garrison should be given all the honors of war, and Helm surrendered. The British commander was very much chagrined, when he found that his army of 200 men had been stopped and thus defied by a garrison of two.

Hamilton sent his Indians out to harass the frontier, and also dispatched a party of forty to capture Clark, but in that he failed. In January, 1779, Clark received his first definite intelligence from Vincennes. At that time Colonel Francis Vigo, of St. Louis, visited Clark. He was a wealthy merchant at St. Louis and was well known among the French settlers and the Indians. Clark prevailed upon him to go to Vincennes, and report to him the exact condition of affairs. On his way he was captured by the Indians and taken to Fort Sackville, as it was then called. Father Gibault, who was still at Vincennes, interested himself in Vigo's behalf, and one Sunday morning went to the fort at the head of his parishoners, and notified Hamilton that they would furnish no more supplies unless Vigo was released. He was released on the condition that he "should not do anything injurious to the British interests on his way to St. Louis." Vigo fulfilled the exact letter of the conditions, by hastening as fast as two men could row him in a small boat to St. Louis, where he jumped on shore and at once jumped back into the boat, and went with all haste to Clark at Kaskaskia.

The situation for Clark was desperate in the extreme, but it was in desperate straits that Clark's wonderful powers were disclosed to the best advantage. He was prompt of action and fertile in resources. Hamilton had eighty men in Fort Sackville, and was abundantly supplied with arms and ammunition. If left until spring he was sure to be largely reinforced. It was the depth of winter, but Clark did not hesitate. On February 4, he dispatched a large boat armed with two four-pounders and four large swivel guns, to proceed to within ten leagues of Vincennes and there await orders. On the next day Clark began his march overland

with one hundred and seventy men. He had a march of one hundred and sixty miles to make. The prairies were very wet and rain fell during almost the entire march. The bottom lands were overflowed, and much of the march had to be made through water. After crossing the Little Wabash and Embarrass Rivers, the men were compelled to wade through water the whole of the remaining distance, the water being from three to four feet deep. When they reached the Wabash, ten miles from Vincennes, they were entirely out of provisions. Finally two canoes were secured and the men ferried across the river. On, through water, sometimes up to their necks, the men marched. They were out of provisions and could not make more than three miles a day, but they kept on.

On the night of the 22d, the weather turned cold and the wet clothing of the men froze on them. On the morning of the 23d the outlook was indeed disheartening; the weather was cold, and the water through which they must wade was covered with a thin coating of ice, but into that they plunged. Finally dry land was reached, the sun came out warm and cheering; fires were built and the men dried their clothing. Some squaws and children came along in a canoe, having with them a quarter of a buffalo, some corn, tallow and several kettles. These supplies were seized, and broth made and doled out to the famishing troops. With the dry land, and this limited supply of food their spirits at once revived, and they were ready to complete their enterprise. They were in a condition where they had to become the victors, or they were sure to become the victims. If captured certain death at the hands of the Indians would be their fate. They could not retreat. They were out of food, and almost out of clothing. To march back to Kas-

kaskia was impossible, and it was equally impossible in their famished and destitute condition to fight their way through to the Falls of the Ohio.

So the men had nothing else to do than to go on. Early in the day Clark captured a Frenchman from the village, who was out hunting. He sent him into the village to tell the people that he intended to storm the village and the fort, and that all who were friendly to the Americans should remain in their houses, and promising they should not be molested. The villagers were all friendly, and sent no word to the fort of the presence of Clark. Late in the afternoon he set out on his march to the village, reaching it a short time after dusk, having timed his approach so that darkness would hide the meagerness of his force. The village was occupied without resistance, and many of the villagers proffered their services to Clark to assist in reducing the fort, but their help was declined.

As soon as he reached the village and discovered that the garrison of the fort had not been warned of his coming, he detached a small body of men to begin firing on the fort. This was the first intimation the garrison had that an enemy was near. Hamilton, the commander of the fort, was at the quarters of Captain Helm, playing cards with his prisoner, when he was startled by the rapid firing of rifles. It was a rude awakening, to find that in his fancied security an enemy had stolen up to his very doors. Who that enemy might be he could not divine. He could not dream that any civilized enemy had forced his way in such weather from the far distant posts of the Americans, yet he could not believe it was the Indians, for he knew of no cause for an outbreak from them, and then there was an absence of the yells which always accompanied an attack by the red men.

Helm, his prisoner, understood the matter, however, and jumped to his feet declaring that Clark was there and would assuredly take the fort. During the night a heavy fire was kept up on both sides, and under the cover of darkness the Americans made a heavy intrenchment across the road a short distance from the front gate. In the morning Clark sent to Hamilton a flag of truce with the following message:

"Sir—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you to immediately surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, etc., etc., etc. For if I am obliged to storm you may depend upon such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers, or any letters that are in your possession, for, by Heaven, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you. "G. R. CLARK."

Hamilton replied that he was not in such straits as to impel him to surrender, and the attack was at once renewed by Clark. The Americans had much the advantage. They were all skilled marksmen, and, protected by the houses, they surrounded the fort on every side, and whenever one of the garrison exposed his person in the least he was sure to receive a rain of rifle balls. The garrison could not use their cannon, for whenever a port was opened rifle bullets flew into it so fast and so sure that the soldiers were driven from the gun. Several of the British were shot through the eyes. During the afternoon Hamilton thought better of his refusal to surrender, and sent a flag of truce to Clark, asking for a suspension of hostilities for three days. The American commander replied that he would offer no terms but that the garrison should surrender at discretion, but he would confer with Hamilton at the village church, if he so desired. The conference was held. Hamilton offered to surrender if

his men were permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. This was refused. After some further consultation the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war, with all their stores and supplies. The American flag was then again raised in Indiana, and since then no other has ever waved over its territory. This surrender at Vincennes gave to America all the territory east of the Mississippi, with the exception of that immediately around Detroit.

Besides adding an empire of territory to the colonies, this success of Clark had another immediate effect that was of the utmost importance to the frontier settlements—it put an end to the marauding depredations of the Indians. The very afternoon of the surrender of the fort, a small band of Indians that had been out after scalps under the promise of a premium by Hamilton, returned. They had heard nothing of the surrender of the fort, and were captured with the scalps in their possession. Clark had them promptly shot. This gave evidence to the Indians of the character of the man, and the neighboring tribes soon came in to make peace.

So much were the Indians impressed with the superior powers of Clark, that the Piankashaws insisted on making him a grant of 150,000 acres of land at the Falls of the Ohio. He at first refused, but finally accepted. The grant was afterward confirmed by Congress. It was located in what is now Clark, Floyd and Scott Counties, and goes by the name of "Clark's Grant" to this day. The name of the fort was changed from "Sackville" to "Patrick Henry," after the Governor of Virginia, who had authorized the expedition, and Clark took possession of the territory in the name of Virginia. In October, 1778, when the news of Clark's success at Kaskaskia reached Virginia, the Virginia Assembly

had passed a law organizing all the territory northwest of the Ohio into the County of Illinois, and Colonel John Todd was appointed County Lieutenant of Illinois, and instructed to give every assistance in his power to General Clark in his proposed operations against Detroit.

Todd arrived at Kaskaskia in May, 1779, and at once assumed the duties of his office, leaving Clark free to pursue his military enterprises. Todd was killed at the battle of Blue Licks, in 1782. By the limitations of the statute organizing the County of Illinois, its organization expired in 1781, but the officers under that organization continued to exercise power, and among other things made liberal grants of lands, especially to themselves. The Indians had granted to the French twenty-four leagues square of land, and when the British captured the country it was held that the grant had been made to the French crown, and not to the people of Vincennes, and hence passed to the British crown. This view of the question was held by those who exercised power under the authority of Virginia, and it was this grant which the officers parcelled out to themselves. The United States repudiated their action and resumed ownership of the land.

Before tracing out the further history of the early settlement of Indiana, it will be proper here to follow the history of General Clark to the end, as he was so closely identified with, and so important a part of the early history of this State. During his campaign against the British and Indians at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, he had met with and overcome obstacles that would have dampened the spirit of almost any other man. He had not succeeded in his great design—the capture of Detroit, but he did not relinquish that design, and as soon as he could get matters settled at Vincennes, turned his attention again to the greater object.

No opportunity offered, however, and no means were given him to prosecute the design. He returned to Kentucky. He was a bold, restless, active man, who could not be content except in action. He had not long been in Kentucky when word was brought that the British and Indians from Detroit, had been on a marauding expedition against the American settlements on the Miamis. Clark organized a force and severely punished the Indians, destroying some of their towns and all of their crops. Returning again to Kentucky, he began once more agitating an attempt upon Detroit, but by this time his habits of dissipation had so grown upon him that he could not gain the support of the Executive Council of Virginia.

In 1785 Indian depredations had become so frequent and so destructive, that the people of Kentucky felt that it was necessary to take some decided steps. Information had been received that Vincennes had been attacked and the American residents all destroyed. The Virginia Council authorized the raising of troops in Kentucky for services on the Wabash, and the field officers selected Clark for the command. He raised about 1,000 men, and in September of that year started from the Falls of the Ohio on a march to Vincennes. After proceeding some distance he sent Captain Benjamin Logan back to Kentucky, to raise an additional force for service against the Indian towns on the Miami. No supplies had been furnished Clark for his troops, and it was not long until great dissatisfaction sprung up among them. The provisions had been sent by boat to Vincennes, but had been delayed. Clark's own habits added to the dissatisfaction, and his followers began to lose confidence in him. He reached Vincennes, and at last the boats with his provisions came up, but most of the supplies had been



ruined by water. Clark was reinforced by the inhabitants of Vincennes and marched for Vermillion River. At that point his troops mutinied, and three hundred of them left in a body.

This put an end to the expedition, and he returned to Vincennes, a soured and disappointed man. On arriving again at that place the Kentucky officers, who were with him, decided that the safety of Kentucky depended upon garrisoning the fort again, the supplies to be furnished by impressment. Clark appointed officers for the garrison, and the people were called upon for supplies. The goods in some of the stores were seized. Among the stores thus sacked were two which belonged to Spaniards who were residents of St. Louis. Charges were afterward made against Clark on this account, and he was accused of having a design to imbroid the country in a war with Spain. At a later period he was charged with having a design to attack Natchez, much after the manner Aaron Burr was accused of contemplating the seizure of New Orleans some years later.

After the failure of his last expedition against the Indians of the Wabash, Clark lived in retirement. Both Virginia and the United States refused to pay for the goods impressed at Vincennes, although the act was one in every way justifiable from the exigencies of the service. The merchants brought suit against Clark, and recovered judgments. Under the judgments much of the land given him by the Indians was sold. He lived in comparative poverty, feeling that his country had not only failed to reward him as it should have done for his valuable services, but had neglected to refund him the money he had actually expended. He built himself a cabin on Corn Island and lived there alone for some years, in poverty, sickness and neglect.

Finally he was taken to the home of his sister, near Louisville, and cared for until his death in 1818.

Before leaving this subject, it will be well to glance at some other acts of gross injustice perpetrated by Virginia and the United States upon some of those who had served them well, and to whose help the country owed the capture and retention of the vast empire now known as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. It will be remembered that when General Clark arrived at Kaskaskia he found there Father Gibault, a parish priest, and that the Father was Clark's earliest and best friend, and staunchest adviser and assistant. He not only won over the French residents of the village, but, at the instigation of General Clark, went to Vincennes and there induced the French residents to take the oath of allegiance to the American government, and by his influence prevailed upon the Indian tribes to make peace and forsake the British.

He was still at Vincennes when Clark reached that point after it had been recaptured by Hamilton, and he was again of the greatest assistance. For his services to the Americans he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Detroit, and deprived of his pastorate. When General St. Clair appeared at Vincennes as Governor of the Northwest, Father Gibault presented a memorial to him, setting forth that he had "parted with his tithes and beasts" to aid General Clark, and had been paid in depreciated currency, which he had sent to the United States Commissioner for redemption, but had never heard from it afterward. He set forth that because of this loss he had been compelled to sell two slaves who would have been a support to his old age, and that he then was dependent upon the public. He asked that a small tract of land at Kaskaskia, which had been formerly held

by the parish priests, be returned to him. Governor St. Clair recommended that this be done, but it never was. Finally, after several years, a small lot was given him in Vincennes, and subsequent to that, he was allowed 400 acres of land, but the old man had parted with his claim for a trifle, and this act of tardy justice did him no good.

On General Clark's arrival at Kaskaskia, on his first expedition, his troops were entirely out of all kinds of supplies. He was out of money as well. Without help his attempt against Vincennes must be abandoned. The French merchants of Kaskaskia came patriotically to his help, and furnished him with whatever was needed. He gave them bills on Virginia. Virginia took no steps toward honoring the bills, and in 1780 Charles Gratiot, on his own behalf and as the agent for some of the others, visited Virginia. He remained there three years before he could get his claims allowed. Many of the other claims were never presented, owing to the discouragements Gratiot had met with.

Among the friends who had come to the help of Clark was Francis Vigo. He not only furnished Clark with supplies and money, but, it will be remembered, went to Vincennes on a secret mission, and was captured by the British and held a prisoner until Father Gibault forced his release. Clark had given him drafts on the agent of Virginia, but they had not been paid for the want of funds. Vigo was rich at that time and cared nothing for the money. After awhile poverty overtook him, and he sold some of his smaller drafts at eighty per cent. discount. He kept the largest one, however, and he gave the draft to some attorneys for presentation. The draft was lost in some way, and nothing was done toward securing payment for many years. In 1799 he had a spell of sickness which confined him to the

house for five years, and during that time his business was entirely destroyed, and he fell into extreme poverty. In 1833 some papers were discovered, proving his claim, and it was once more pressed upon Congress, but he died three years afterward at the age of ninety-six.

Vigo county had been named in his honor, and at one time Terre Haute had given him a very flattering public reception. In memory of that kind act, in his will he directed that when his claim should be allowed, the sum of \$500 should be given to purchase a bell for the court house at Terre Haute. His heirs pushed the claim, and time after time the committee of one House or the other would recommend its payment, but it always fell somewhere. Two or three generations of lawyers wore themselves out on it. In 1872, Congress referred the matter to the Court of Claims. The Court gave judgment for the heirs, allowing interest at the rate of five per cent. The Government appealed against the allowance of interest, but finally the Supreme Court affirmed the judgment, and ninety-five years after the debt was incurred it was paid.

## CHAPTER V.

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### INDIAN WARS AND MASSACRES.

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When the whites began making their settlements in Kentucky, the Indians of Ohio and Indiana, who had long looked upon Kentucky as a sort of general hunting ground, resisted this invasion of the whites to the very utmost, and many bloody forays were made. The Ohio River, which was the great thoroughfare down which the emigrants floated, was carefully patrolled by the savages, and there is hardly a mile of it, from Pittsburg to the falls, that has not at some time witnessed a deadly conflict. It is not our purpose to give an account of the Indian wars of the country, or to even allude to them, and shall mention only those which had a direct bearing upon the settlement of Indiana. When the whites began breaking over the Alleghany Mountains and hunting homes in this great section of the country, several Indian tribes had their villages within the borders of Indiana. They displayed a determined hostility to the encroachments of the whites, and in this were encouraged by the French, who looked with jealous alarm on the advancement of the English frontiers. As soon as the whites grew strong enough in Kentucky to make counter-charges on the Indians, several expeditions were made against the Indian towns in Ohio and Indiana, which mostly were disastrous to the whites.

Soon after this territory was ceded by France to England, a great Indian war broke out. It had been smouldering for some time, and the insidious work of the French emissaries soon set it in a blaze. The Indians were impressed with the belief that the British Government claimed that the cession by France conveyed all the land contained in the territory, without regard to the rights of the Indian possessors, and that the Indians were to be driven from their homes. The former action of the English settlers in the East gave color to this belief, and it was not to be wondered at that the Indians readily accepted the statements of the French traders. Pontiac was the head chief of the Ottawas, and was a man of bold and determined spirit. He had always been hostile to the English, and took quick advantage of the restlessness of the different tribes, and by his eloquence united them in a movement to annihilate the dreaded English settlers, and to seize upon all their posts. He displayed wonderful cunning in making up and working out his plans. During 1762 he was very active in going from one tribe to another, fostering their spirit of opposition, and inflaming their passions. His plan covered a wide field, and was to be a surprise along the whole western frontier, in which all the posts were to be surprised and captured on the same day, while roving bands were to attack the isolated settlements and kill and scalp. The forts were to be captured by stratagem. In no case was it contemplated to attempt an assault or a siege. Cunning, not force was to be the weapon employed. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which this conspiracy was being worked, rumors of it from time to time reached the ears of the commanding officers of the various posts. In Indiana, the only two posts occupied by the British were Fort Miamis, at the head of the

Maumee, and Ouiatenon, on the Wabash. Vincennes was still in the hands of the French. The commander of Fort Miamis obtained information that war belts were being circulated among the Indians, and that they were secretly, but actively preparing for a general outbreak. The conspiracy included in its ranks, all the tribes of the Algonquin family, with the Senecas and Wyandots, and many of the tribes of the lower Mississippi. Early in March, 1763, Ensign Holmes, who was in command of the little force at Fort Miamis, received information that trouble was brewing. A friendly Indian told him that one of the tribes near by had received a war belt, and that they were preparing to secretly seize the fort and destroy the garrison. Holmes immediately summoned the neighboring Indians to a council, and at once charged them with their contemplated treachery. They acknowledged having received the war belt. They denied, however, that they had intended to lift the tomahawk, and surrendered the war belt to Holmes. Holmes was not entirely satisfied with their protestations, but still thought the danger had passed. A day or two later he dispatched the following letter to Major Gladwyn, the commander at Detroit:

"FORT MIAMIS, MARCH 30, 1763.

"Since my Last Letter to You wherein I Acquainted You of the Bloody Belt being in this village, I have made all the search I could about it, and have found it out to be True; Whereon I Assembled all the Chiefs of this Nation (the Miamis), and after a long and troublesome Spell with them, I Obtained the Belt, with a Speech, as you will Receive Enclosed; This Affair is very timely Stopt, and I hope the News of a Peace will put a Stop to any further Troubles with these Indians, who are the Principle Ones of Setting Mischief on

Foot. I send You the Belt with this Packet, which I hope You will Forward to the General."

To lull the suspicions of the whites until their designs were ripe for consummation, the Indians began hanging around the various forts with all demonstrations of friendliness, and asking for tobacco, whisky and powder. Notwithstanding these pretenses the rumors of coming trouble began to multiply. The Indians of the various tribes began to assemble in unusual numbers, to celebrate the savage rites of war. A grand council was called at the river Ecorces, where Pontiac delivered one of his impassioned speeches. He recited the wrongs the Indians had suffered at the hands of the English. He contrasted the conduct of the French and the English in their dealing with them. He declared that it was the aim and intention of the hated English to drive them from the land, if not to utterly destroy them. He told them that their great French father had been asleep, but was now awake again, and would soon have possession of Canada once more; that if the Red Men waited much longer the English would be too strong for them, but they were now resting in security because they had beaten the French, and if the Indians were prompt to take advantage of this want of caution on the part of their enemies, they could capture all their forts and destroy all their settlements.

It was planned to capture nine posts held by the English—Detroit, Presque-Isle, Michillimackinac, Miami, Ouiatenon, Le Boeuf, Venango, Fort Pitt and Fort Saunders. All were to be taken by treachery or stratagem. All fell except Detroit and Fort Pitt. On the 10th of May, Sandusky fell. Rapidly, one after another the various posts fell into the hands of the savages. With the exception of Michillimack-



inac they were all small trading posts, with but slight fortifications. At Michillimackinac strategy was resorted to. Major Herington, the commandant, had been notified of the disaffection of the Indians, and the danger of an attack, but paid no attention to the warnings. On the 4th of June the Sacs and Foxes, to whom the capture of this post had been assigned in the distribution of the work of the conspiracy, gathered around the fort. It was the birthday of George III, and the small garrison of ninety men were celebrating the day. The Indians began amusing themselves by playing "baggatiway," a favorite game of ball, in the area close to the fort. The Indians played with great animation, and many soldiers of the garrison went out to observe the game, having no suspicions of hostilities. Several times the ball had been knocked or thrown over the pickets of the stockade, and had been followed by the ardent players, who would rush into the enclosure, capture the ball and return again to their sport. Finally, at a given signal, they again rushed in after the ball, and when inside the stockade made a furious attack on the soldiers of the garrison, killing seventy of them.

At Ouiatenon, on the Wabash, the Indians had intended to capture the post and destroy the garrison on May 31, but were prevailed upon by two French traders not to do so. The next day, several of the soldiers, together with Lieutenant Jenkins, were decoyed to a cabin outside of the fort and there seized. The others then surrendered, and all were held prisoners for some time. Lieutenant Jenkins, in a report to his superior officer, Major Gladwyn, of Detroit, thus tells the story:

"Sir: I have heard of your situation, which gives me great pain; Indeed, we are not in much better; for this

morning the Indians sent for me to speak to me, and immediately bound me. When I got to their cabin I found some of my soldiers in the same condition. They told me Detroit, Miamis, and all those posts were cut off, and that it was folly to make any resistance. They therefore desired me to make the few soldiers in the fort surrender, otherwise they would put us all to death in case one man was killed. They were to have fell on us and killed us all last night, but Mr. Maisongville and Lorain gave them wampum not to kill us, and when they told the interpreter that we were all to be killed, and he knowing the condition of the fort begged them to make us prisoners. They have put us into French houses, and both Indians and French use us very well. All these nations say they are very sorry, but that they were obliged to do it by the other nations. The belt did not arrive here until last night about eight o'clock. Mr. Lorain can inform you of all. I have just received the news of St. Josephs' being taken. Eleven men were killed and three taken prisoners with the officers. I have nothing more to say, but that I wish you a speedy succor, and that we may be able to revenge ourselves on those that deserve it."

As has been said, Ensign Holmes, at Fort Miami, had been early warned, and had made provision to secure the safety of his command, but he permitted himself to be beguiled into a trap. It seems that he had for a mistress a young Indian girl, and she it was the wily savages determined should be the means of placing the officer in their hands. This girl entered the fort and told Holmes that one of the squaws was lying very sick in a wigwam a short distance away, and desired that he should go and see her. Holmes at once went outside of the fort, and in a moment

was shot down. The sergeant hearing the shots, ran out to see what the difficulty was, and was in turn fired upon and slain. The nine men in the fort were then ordered to surrender, which they did. Thus, within a few days all the posts held by the English west of the Alleghanies, except Fort Pitt and Detroit were in the hands of the savages. Pontiac had taken upon himself the capture of Detroit. He went to that place with a large number of Indians, and demanded a council with Major Gladwyn. The Indians had caused all their rifles to be cut off short enough that they might be concealed beneath their blankets, and it was intended thus armed to enter the fort to be present at the proposed council, and at a given signal to rush upon the garrison and slay them, while the gates were to be thrown open by Indians detailed for that purpose, for the admission of those still on the outside. Major Gladwyn, like Ensign Holmes, had an Indian mistress, and she divulged the plot to the Major. Put upon his guard, the design of Pontiac was frustrated. Pontiac laid siege to Detroit, and after several bloody encounters was finally compelled to withdraw.

The war lasted until the latter part of 1764, when peace was finally forced from the Indians, and Great Britain again took possession of the posts that had been captured, together with those which had not been previously delivered by the French, and the settlers had comparative rest from Indian depredations for ten years. At the close of the Revolutionary War, with the exception of Vincennes, and a few French families at Ouiatenon and at Fort Miamis, there were no whites in Indiana. The Indians, however, were troublesome to the settlers in Kentucky and Ohio. In 1780 La Balme, a native of France, desiring to emulate General

George Rogers Clark, in his capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, raised a few soldiers at Kaskaskia, and on being joined by a few more at Vincennes, started out to capture Fort Miamis, at the head of the Maumee. He succeeded in surprising the fort, and after plundering the traders he retired a short distance and went into camp. That night the Indians suddenly attacked him and he with nearly all his recruits were slain.

In the spring of 1781 Colonel Archibald Loughrey raised about one hundred men in Pennsylvania, as a reinforcement for General George Rogers Clark who was then organizing an expedition against Detroit. These troops embarked on boats at Wheeling and moved down the river, expecting to join General Clark at the falls of the Ohio. On the 24th of August he had reached the mouth of what is now known as Loughery creek, in Dearborn County. There he was surprised by a large force of Indians and about one half his men were killed, the others being taken prisoners. Colonel Loughery was himself taken prisoner, but was tomahawked and scalped the same day.

By 1786 the Indians had again grown very restless, owing to the attempts of Congress to extinguish their claim to the lands northwest of the Ohio River, and frequent outbreaks occurred. In August of that year a Frenchman was killed by the Indians near Vincennes, and the French settlers were notified by the Indians to leave as the Indians were determined to make war on the Americans and destroy them. A strong force was raised in Kentucky for the purpose of destroying the Indian towns on the Wabash. About one thousand men, under the command of General Clark, marched from the Falls of the Ohio to Vincennes. The expedition finally reached Ouiatenon, and the Indian villages

in that section were destroyed. The dissensions among the troops compelled their return to Vincennes without accomplishing anything further. A garrison was established at Vincennes.

By 1789 the war cloud had grown so large that General Arthur St. Clair, who was Governor of the Northwest Territory, was ordered to employ a large force to compel the Indians to peace. He tried persuasion, sending a messenger with letters to the various tribes, but the disaffection was too deep for mere words. Governor St. Clair called for reinforcements of militia from Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania. The disaffection among the Indians had been fed by the British officers, who still remained in command of the various posts which had not yet been surrendered to the United States, and British traders supplied the savages with arms and ammunition. A part of the militia ordered out was to report to Major Hamtramck, who was in command at Vincennes, who was to march up the Wabash against the villages on that river. The others were to unite with General Harmar, who had about four hundred regulars under his command. General Harmar was to operate against the Indians on the Miami and Maumee. Harmar's army consisted of about 1,450 regulars and militia, the militia being badly armed and equipped. On the 15th of October General Harmar reached Kekionga, now Fort Wayne, but found it deserted by the Indians. The Indians had left about twenty thousand bushels of corn and some other property. This was all seized and destroyed. An expedition was sent out under the command of Colonel Trotter, but returned to camp soon after, having killed two Indians. The militia had proved unmanageable.

The next day Colonel Hardin was sent out with a force

of thirty regulars and about two hundred militia. On the 19th of October they reached a point about five miles from the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary Rivers, where a short halt was made. The march was resumed, and after proceeding for some miles it was discovered that a part of the force had remained behind. Colonel Hardin sent his mounted men in search of it, and while his force was thus reduced he was suddenly assailed by a large body of Indians under the command of the celebrated Little Turtle. At the first fire the militia broke and fled, with the exception of nine, who remained with the regulars. The regulars kept up the fight until the nine militiamen and twenty of their own number were killed. Colonel Hardin, with what was left of his force, rapidly retreated until he overtook General Harmar at Chillicothe, a Shawnee village on the Maumee. This defeat of Colonel Hardin occurred near what is now known as "Heller's Corners" in Allen county. On the morning of the 21st, Harmar destroyed the Indian village and began a retreat toward Fort Washington.

Colonel Hardin, smarting under his defeat, and anxious to recover his reputation as an Indian fighter, persuaded General Harmar to give him a force consisting of 340 militia and sixty regulars, with which he rapidly marched back toward the Indian villages at the head of the Maumee, hoping to surprise them while they would be rejoicing over their victory. Having reached the Maumee about daylight on the morning of the 22d, Colonel Hardin divided his forces, and soon after seeing small parties of Indians apparently in rapid flight, the militia pursued, and were drawn into an ambush. About the same time the regulars were attacked by Little Turtle and a scene of massacre ensued. Several officers and one hundred and eighty-three men were killed, in

these two battles. The militia, as usual, fled and carried the news of the disaster to the main body. This second battle was fought on what is now the site of Fort Wayne. After this second disaster Hardin rapidly retreated to Fort Washington. While these events were occurring on the Maumee, Major Hamtramck moved out from Vincennes and destroyed several villages on the Vermillion River. Thus closed the campaign of 1790.

The failure of Harmar, together with the severe repulse he had twice received, elated the Indians, and their predatory incursions increased. In March, 1791, Congress determined to increase the force in the West and adopt vigorous measures. Governor St. Clair was ordered to take the field himself in command of the troops. He had visited Philadelphia, and had received his instructions personally from the Secretary of War, and President Washington solemnly cautioned him against allowing himself to be surprised. In his instructions the Secretary of War said:

“While you are making use of such desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously in every preparation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messengers or the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place. In your advance you will establish such posts of communication with Fort Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper. The post at Miami village is intended for awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be

rendered secure against all attempts and insults of the Indians. The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficient for the defense of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions. The establishment of said post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events. In case of previous treaty, the Indians are to be conciliated upon this point, if possible; and it is presumed good arguments may be offered to induce their acquiescence."

It will be seen that the Government had determined to erect and maintain a strong fort at the head of the Maumee. In pursuance of the plan of campaign marked out by General St. Clair, on the 5th of July General James Wilkinson was sent with an expedition against the Wabash and Red River Indians, and General Scott marched toward Ouiate-non. The object of these two expeditions was to destroy the Indian towns, and prevent the savages from massing against the main expedition under Governor St. Clair. They succeeded in destroying several villages, but failed in withdrawing any support from Little Turtle. By this time the Pottawattamies, Kickapoos, Delawares, Ottawas, Wyandots and Shawnees had joined with the Miamis to resist St. Clair. The Indians were led by Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, a Shawnee chief, and Buck-ong-a-helas, the most noted of the Delaware chiefs, the chief command being given to Little Turtle, owing to his renown as a warrior. The Indians took the field with about 1,400 warriors. In September St. Clair began his march. He stopped to erect two or three forts and did not reach the head waters of the Wabash until the 3d of November. The famous Shawnee chief, Te-



cumseh had command of the Indian scouts who followed and observed his operations. On the morning of the 4th, about an hour before day, while resting in fancied security, his camp was fiercely assailed. The troops endeavored to form and resist the attack, but they were assailed on every side. At last a bayonet charge was made, and the Indians were driven back a short distance, but as soon as the whites stopped the pursuit, the Indians again began the battle. When about half the army had fallen, and the artillery silenced, the army began a retreat, which in a very short time assumed a panic, the artillery being abandoned and the men throwing away their arms. About sunset the panic-stricken troops reached Fort Jefferson, distant about thirty miles from the battle field. The loss of the whites was terrible, being, thirty-nine officers and five hundred and ninety-three men killed and missing, and twenty-two officers and two hundred and forty-two men wounded. Many women who had followed their husbands, who were in the army, were either killed or captured. As soon as the news of this disaster reached Philadelphia, the Government determined to make a stronger effort than ever to punish the enemy and construct the fort at the head of the Maumee.

A force of five thousand men was assigned to the duty of conquering a peace, and General Anthony Wayne was placed in command. The troops were to rendezvous at Pittsburg, and there General Wayne arrived in June, 1792. Many perplexing difficulties were in his way. Commissioners had been sent out, to endeavor to conclude a peace without any more fighting, and they protested that if Wayne made any show of advancing with an armed force they could accomplish nothing. Among the commissioners appointed to negotiate with the Indians, were Benjamin Lincoln, Bev-

erly Randolph and Timothy Pickering. Inspired by the British the Indians insisted that Great Britain had no right to cede the territory northwest of the Ohio to the Americans; that it belonged exclusively to the Indians, and they had a right to sell it to whom they pleased. Such claims the American Government could not, and would not recognize, so finally all attempts at negotiation were broken off, and it was left to General Wayne and his troops. During all the months that the negotiations had been dragging along, the Indians kept up their incursions on the settlements. On the 7th of October, 1793, General Wayne at the head of 2,600 regulars and 400 auxiliaries, marched from Fort Washington. He erected a fort at Greenville, and another on the field where St. Clair had met with his defeat. This last he named Fort Recovery. General Wayne remained at Fort Recovery until the 30th of June, 1794, without any disturbance. On that day about 1,500 Indians, aided by some British and Canadians, assailed a body of troops under the walls of the fort, but were finally repulsed. In July Wayne received a reinforcement of 1,600 mounted volunteers under the command of General Scott. On the 4th of August he rapidly moved forward toward the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers, where he erected Fort Defiance.

The Indians were disheartened by these movements of General Wayne. He had maintained such vigilance that they had been unable to surprise him, and he was designated by Little Turtle, as the "Man-who-never-sleeps." On the 19th of August the Indians held a general council, and Little Turtle urged that peace be made. He said: "We have beaten the enemy twice under different commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune to attend us always.

The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The nights and the days are alike to him, and during all the time that he has been marching on our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace." The Indians refused to listen to this advice, and prepared for battle. On the morning of the 20th, while General Wayne was advancing in order of battle he encountered the Indians. A desperate battle followed and the Indians were overthrown and their power broken. In this battle William Henry Harrison served as a staff officer to General Wayne, while Tecumseh, whom he afterward defeated at the battle of the Thames, led the Shawnees.

Following the battle General Wayne destroyed all the crops and other property of the Indians in that vicinity, laying the country waste. He strengthened Fort Defiance, and in September began the erection of the fort at the head of the Maumee, to build which was the main object of Governor St. Clair's disastrous expedition. This post was named Fort Wayne after the American commander. By December small parties of the various hostile tribes met General Wayne at Greenville, and signed preliminary articles of peace, and on the 15th of June, 1795, all the head chiefs met him at the same place to conclude a final peace.

In 1806 General Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory received information that efforts were being made to stir up the Indians to hostility, and it was not long until the whole border was in a state of unrest, and the whites began to prepare for Indian incursions. This preparation gave license to lawless whites to commit depredations on Indians found hunting in the woods, and several such were killed.

As was to have been expected, these murders only inflamed the feelings of the tribes and caused them more than ever to talk of war. Governor Harrison, under instructions from the President, did everything possible to preserve the peace. He sent messengers among the various tribes, cautioning them against listening to those who advised war, and promising to do justice on those who had been guilty of crimes against the Indians. These messages apparently had some effect, the Indians promising to preserve the peace.

The Indians especially complained of the encroachments of the settlers on the lands reserved for the Indians. Some of the tribes had never given their sanction to the treaty of Fort Wayne, in which much of the land in Indiana had been sold to the Government. The warriors who were active in stirring up strife took advantage of this, and used it as an argument in favor of resisting the surveying and settling of the newly acquired lands. The two great leaders of this movement by the Indians, were Tecumseh, and his brother, Pems-quat-a-wah, principal chiefs of the Shawnees. Tecumseh was a bold and daring leader, a man of great eloquence and possessed of all the parts necessary to make up a leader among savage tribes. He was not only the boldest warrior of his time, but was the most accomplished. His brother was the agent he used to arouse the hostile feelings of the tribes. He assumed to be a prophet, and declared he was directly commissioned by the Great Spirit to lead them. He declaimed against the use of intoxicating spirits, and especially against witchcraft, and such was his influence that he caused the burning to death of several Indians accused of using witchcraft. He would work up the Indians into a state of frenzy, and then cunningly tell the story of the wrongs the red men had suffered at the hands of the whites.

When Governor Harrison received word of these events he again sent messengers to the tribes, warning them not to listen to the Prophet, as his only aim was to embroil them in war with the whites. This the Prophet denied. About the close of 1805 Tecumseh and his brother, followed by a small band of the Shawnees, removed to Greenville, Ohio. In 1808 the Prophet returned to Indiana and settled among the Pottawattamies and Kickapoos on the Wabash, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe. There he soon gathered around him quite a following of the most disaffected of the tribes. Tecumseh, at the same time, was traveling over the country, endeavoring to form a confederacy of the tribes to resist the encroachments of the whites, and to demand a retrocession of the lands ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne. He contended that no single tribe of Indians had a right to dispose of the lands; that the land belonged to all the tribes in common, and declared that he and his brother would oppose and resist any further attempts of the whites to extend their settlements northwest of the Ohio River.

Governor Harrison was fully informed of the schemes of the Prophet, and had several interviews with him, in which he cautioned him against continuing his practices. The whites were uneasy and fearful, the Indians pretending to wish for peace, but all the time complaining of wrongs committed against them. During the first months of the year 1810 quite a number of depredations were committed by both sides. The whites had one steadfast friend—Winemac, the principal chief of the Pottawattamies. He used all his influence against Tecumseh and the Prophet. By this time the Prophet had collected about him some six hundred or seven hundred warriors, from different tribes. When asked by Governor Harrison what was meant by this

collection of warriors, the Prophet said he had been commanded by the Great Spirit to settle at that place. In July, 1810, Governor Harrison addressed him the following letter:

"Notwithstanding the improper language you have used towards me I will endeavor to open your eyes to your true interests. Notwithstanding what bad white men have told you I am not your personal enemy. You ought to know this from the manner in which I received and treated you on your last visit to this place, although I must say that I believe you are an enemy to the seventeen fires, and that you have used the greatest exertions with other tribes to lead them astray, and in this you have in some measure succeeded, as I hear you are ready to raise the tomahawk against their father. Their father, notwithstanding his anger at their folly, is full of goodness, and is ready to receive into his arms those of his children who are willing to repent, acknowledge their fault and ask for his forgiveness. There is yet but very little harm done, but what may easily be repaired. The chain of friendship which unites the whites with the Indians may be renewed, and be as strong as ever. A great deal of that work depends on you. The destiny of those who are under your direction depends upon the choice which you will make of the two roads which are before you. One is large, open and pleasant, and leads to peace, security and happiness. The other, on the contrary, is narrow, crooked, and leads to misery and ruin. Do not deceive yourself. Do not believe that all the Indians united are able to resist the force of the seventeen fires, even for a moment.

"I know your warriors are brave, ours are not less so. But can a few brave warriors stand against the innumerable warriors of the seventeen fires? Our blue coats are more numerous than you can count, and our hunting shirts are like

the leaves of the forest, or the grains of sand on the Wabash.

"Do not think that the red coats can protect you; they are not able to protect themselves. They do not think of going to war with us. If they did, you would soon see our flags wave on all the forts of Canada.

"What reason have you to complain of the seventeen fires? Have they taken anything from you? Have they ever violated the treaties made with the red men? You say they purchased lands from those who had no right to sell. Show the truth of this, and the land will instantly be restored. Show the rightful owners of those lands which have been purchased. Let them present themselves. The ears of your father will be open to their complaints, and if lands have been purchased from those who did not own them they will be restored to the rightful owners. I have full power to arrange this business, but if you would rather carry your complaints before your great father, the President, you shall be indulged. I will instantly take the means to send you to the city where your father lives, with three chiefs which you will choose. Everything necessary shall be prepared for your journey and means taken to insure your safe return."

This letter did not appear to make much impression, but in August following Tecumseh visited Vincennes. Several interviews were held, and Tecumseh set forth his complaints in the following speech:

"Brother: I wish you to listen to me well. I wish to reply to you more explicitly. As I think you do not clearly understand what I before said to you, I will explain it again. When we were first discovered, it was by the French, who told us they would adopt us as their children, and gave us presents without asking anything in return, but our consid-

ering them as our fathers. Since we have changed our fathers, we find it different.

"Brother, this is the manner in which the treaty was made by us with the French. They gave us many presents, and treated us well. They asked us for a small piece of country to live on, which they were not to leave, and continue to treat us as their children. After some time the British and French came to a quarrel. The British were victorious. Yet the French promised to think of us as their children, and if they ever could serve us to do it. 'Now, my red children, I know I was obliged to abandon you in disagreeable circumstances, but we have never ceased to look upon you, and if we could now be of any service to you, we would still be your friend.'

"The next father we found was the British, who told us they would now be our fathers, and treat us in the same manner as our former father, the French, they would occupy the same they did, and not trouble us or ours, but would look on us as their children.

"Brother, we were very glad to hear the British promise to treat us as our father, the French, had done. They began to treat us in the same way. But at last they changed their good treatment, by raising the tomahawk against the Americans, and put it into our hands, by which we have suffered the loss of a great many of our young men.

"Brother, we now begin to discover the treachery of the British. They never troubled us for our lands, but they have done worse, by inducing us to go to war.' The Hurons have particularly suffered during the war, and have at length become certain of it. They have told us that we must bury the British tomahawk. That if we did not, they (the British) would ere long ask us to take it up.



"You ought to know that after we agreed to bury the tomahawk, at Greenville, we found new fathers in the Americans, who told us they would treat us well, but not like the British, who gave us but a small piece of pork every day.

"I want now to remind you of the promises of the white people. You recollect that at that time the Delawares lived near the white people, and satisfied with the promises of friendship and remained in security, yet one of their towns was surprised and the men, women and children murdered.

"The same promises were given to the Shawnees, flags were given to them, and they were told by the Americans that they were the children of the Americans; these flags will be a security to you; if the white people intend to do you harm, hold up your flag, and no harm will be done you. This was at length practiced, and the consequence was that the persons bearing flags were murdered, with others, in their villages.

"Now, my brother, after this conduct, can you blame me for placing little confidence in the promises of our fathers, the Americans?

"Brother, since the peace was made you have killed some of the Shawnees, Winnebagoes, Delawares and Miamis, and you have taken our lands from us, and I do not see how we can remain at peace with you if you continue to do so. You have given goods to the Kickapoos for the sale of their lands to you, which has been the cause of many deaths among them. You have promised us assistance, but I do not see that you have given us any.

"You try to force the red people to do some injury. It is you that are pushing them on to do mischief. You endeavor to make distinctions. You wish to prevent the In-

dians to do as we wish them—to unite, and let them consider their lands as the common property of the whole. You take tribes aside, and advise them not to come into the measure, and until our design is accomplished, we do not wish to accept of your invitation to go and visit the President.

“The reason I tell you this is: You want, by your distinctions of Indian tribes, in allotting to each a particular tract of land, to make them to war with each other. You never see an Indian come and endeavor to make the white people do so. You are continually driving the red people, when at last you will drive them into the great lake, when they can’t either stand or work.

“Brother, you ought to know what you are doing with the Indians. Perhaps it is by direction of the President to make these distinctions. It is a very bad thing, and we do not like it. Since my residence at Tippecanoe we have endeavored to level all distinctions; to destroy village chiefs, by whom all mischief is done. It is they who sell our lands to the Americans. Our object is to let all our affairs be transacted by warriors.

“Brother, this land that was sold, and the goods that were given for it, was only done by a few. The treaty was afterward brought here and the Weas were induced to give their consent, because of their small number. The treaty of Fort Wayne was made through the threats of Winemac, but in future we are prepared to punish those chiefs who come forward to propose to sell the lands. If you continue to purchase them, it will produce war among the different tribes; and at last, I do not know what will be the consequences to the white people.

“Brother, I was glad to hear your speech. You said that

if we could show that the land was sold by people that had no right to sell you would restore it. Those who did sell it did not own it. It was me. Those tribes set up a claim, but the tribes with me will not agree to their claim. If the land is not restored to us you will soon see when we return to our homes how it will be settled. We shall have a great council, at which all the tribes shall be present, when we shall show to those who sold that they had no right to the claim they set up, and we will see what will be done with those chiefs that did sell the land to you. I am not alone in this determination. It is the determination of all the warriors and red people that listen to me.

"I now wish you to listen to me. If you do not, it will appear as if you wish me to kill all the chiefs who sold the land. I tell you so because I am authorized by all the tribes to do so. I am at the head of them all. I am a warrior, and all warriors will meet together in two or three moons from this. Then I will call for those chiefs who sold you the land, and shall know what to do with them. If you do not restore the land you will have a hand in killing them.

"Brother, do not believe that I came here to get presents from you. If you offer us any we will not take it. By taking goods from you, you will hereafter say that with them you purchased another piece of land from us. If we want anything we are able to buy it from your traders. Since the land was sold to you no traders come among us. I now wish you would clear all the roads, and let the traders come among us. Then, perhaps, some of our young men will occasionally call upon you to get their guns repaired. This is all the assistance we ask of you.

"Brother, I should now be very glad to know immediately what is your determination about the land; also of the traders I have mentioned.

"Brother, it has been the object of both myself and brother to prevent the land being sold. Should you not return the land it will occasion us to call a great council that will meet at the Huron village, where the council fire has already been lighted, at which those who sold the land will be called, and shall suffer for their conduct.

"Brother, I wish you would take pity on the red people and do what I have requested. If you will not give up the land and do cross the boundary of your present settlement, it will be very hard and produce great trouble among us. How can we have confidence in the white people? When Jesus Christ came upon the earth you killed Him and nailed Him upon the cross. You thought He was dead, but you were mistaken. You have Shakers among you, and you laugh and make light of their worship.

"Everything I have said to you is the truth. The Great Spirit has inspired me, and I speak nothing but the truth to you. In two moons we shall assemble at the Huron village (addressing himself to the Weas and Pottawattamies) where the great belts of all the tribes are kept, and there settle our differences.

"Brother: Now, Brother, I hope you will confess that you ought not to have listened to those bad birds who bring you bad news. I have declared myself freely to you, and if you want any explanations from our town, send a man who can speak to us.

"If you think proper to give us any presents, and we can be convinced that they are given through friendship alone, we will accept them. As we intend to hold our council near the Huron village, that is near the British, we may probably make them a visit. Should they offer us any presents of goods we will not take them; but should they offer us

powder and the tomahawk, we will take the powder and refuse the tomahawk.

"I wish you, brother, to consider everything I have said as true, and that it is the sentiment of all the red people that listen to me. By your giving goods to the Kickapoos you killed many. They were seized with the smallpox, of which many died."

To this long harangue of Tecumseh, Governor Harrison replied, but while he was speaking, he was rudely interrupted by Tecumseh, who made an impassioned address to his followers in the Indian tongue. General Gibson, who was present, and understood the Indian language, saw that there was an intention of suddenly attacking Harrison, and ordered up a guard of soldiers, that was some distance away. On being informed by General Gibson of the language used by Tecumseh, Governor Harrison sternly ordered him to depart at once, and broke up the council. The next day Tecumseh made what might be termed an apology, and protested that he meant no offense, and that he desired everything amicably settled. After some consideration Governor Harrison agreed to another interview, but no conclusion was reached, Tecumseh continuing to insist on a retrocession of the land in dispute. It is said that in these last interviews the Indian chief was very dignified and earnest.

Early in the year 1811 it became evident that the British agents in Canada, acting under the belief that war must soon come between the two countries, were making every effort to get on good terms with the Indians and were inciting them to acts of violence. Governor Harrison kept himself well acquainted with all the moves of the Indians, and seeing that hostilities could not much longer be delayed, began to prepare for war, the whole matter having

been left to his discretion by the Government. Rumors of Indian depredations began to multiply, and in June the Governor sent another letter to the Indians at Prophetstown, warning them that they were being misled. This letter brought about another visit of Tecumseh to Vincennes. In an interview with Governor Harrison the Indian chief said he would send runners out among the Indians to prevent any more murders, and that he was intending to make a trip to the South, but on his return he would visit the President at Washington, and with him settle all causes of difficulty, but that he hoped in the meantime no attempt would be made by the whites to settle on any of the lands ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne.

Soon after this interview Governor Harrison determined to erect a new fort on the Wabash, and break up the hostile Indian camp at Prophetstown. He at once began preparations for the expedition, and called for troops from Indiana and Kentucky. About the middle of September this force had assembled and was ready to march. It consisted of about seven hundred and fifty men. General Harrison moved out to the Wabash, a short distance from where the city of Terre Haute now stands, and began the erection of Fort Harrison. While encamped there some Delaware Indians came into camp and reported that they had just left Prophetstown, where the Indians were preparing for war, and that the Prophet had made a speech in which he said that he had taken up the tomahawk and would never lay it down until the whites had righted the wrongs done the Indians. A night or two after this a sentinel of the camp was wounded by some lurking Indians.

The new fort was completed about the last of October, and leaving there a small garrison General Harrison re-

sumed his march toward Prophetstown. By this time General Harrison had received reinforcements enough to bring his force up to nearly one thousand men, of which two hundred and fifty were regular troops, and about six hundred Indiana militia. The others were volunteers from Kentucky. On the 6th of November the troops came in sight of Prophetstown. During the day it was noticed that the Indians were assuming a hostile attitude, and the troops approached the town in order of battle. A delegation of Indians met the troops and asked for an interview with General Harrison. At that interview the General told them he did not intend to attack the town, but would go on to a good place on the Wabash and encamp for the night, and would see them again in the morning. This was apparently satisfactory, and the Indians suggested what they called a good camping ground. To that General Harrison went, and while it was not a very safe place to encamp, finally agreed to stop there. The army encamped in order of battle, and the men were instructed to sleep with their clothes and accoutrements on, and with their firearms loaded and by their sides, with bayonets fixed.

About two hours before day, on the morning of the 7th, the Indians made a sudden and determined attack upon the camp. They came so suddenly and so quietly that they were almost in the camp before the army was alarmed. They made their attack upon that part of the camp which was guarded by the militia, and the guard broke at the first fire. It was but a short time, however, before the troops were all in line, and a fierce battle raged. Until it got light enough to see, all that the troops could do was to defend themselves, but when daylight came several gallant charges were made by the troops and the Indians totally defeated. The troops







BATTLE GROUND, (DECEMBER), 1871.



BATTLE GROUND, 1887.

had suffered very severely, especially among the officers. Several distinguished men were killed, among them being Colonel Jo Daviess, of Kentucky, one of the most gifted men and able lawyers the country had produced. He was killed while leading a charge by the small force of dragoons. The loss to the troops was thirty-seven killed in battle, and one hundred and fifty-one wounded, of whom twenty-five subsequently died.

The defeated Indians scattered to their various tribes, and the town with all its stores was destroyed. The troops then returned by slow marches to Vincennes. General John Tipton, who was an ensign in one of the companies engaged in the battle, afterward purchased the battle ground from the Government, and gave it to the State for a park. It is now so held. Tecumseh was not in this battle, being at the time in the South endeavoring to organize a gigantic Indian confederation. He returned soon afterward, and it is said reproved his brother for making an attack on General Harrison. The great result of the battle was the overthrowing of the influence of the Prophet with the Indians. He had told them that if they made the attack the bullets of the whites would not harm them. It was that promise which made them so eagerly enter into the fight. They would not forgive him for his deception.

The approaching war with Great Britain began casting its shadow early in 1812. The Miamis and Delawares gave renewed expressions of their friendship to the Americans, but it was learned that the Pottawattamies, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes and some of the other tribes were preparing for war. In April, a Mr. Hutson, his wife and four children, were killed by Indians, only a few miles from Vincennes, and a day or two afterward a Mr. Hurryman, wife and five chil-

dren, were killed. The news of these murders caused General Harrison to take prompt and energetic steps to organize a force for aggressive warfare. He also recommended the erection of a number of block houses for the protection of the settlers. He instructed the officers everywhere, on receiving information of Indian depredations, to promptly and energetically pursue the marauding parties, and to punish them to the utmost.

In the summer of 1812, a great Indian council was held at the Indian village on the Mississinnewa River, at which deputations from a number of tribes were present. Tecumseh was among them. He counseled peace, and in the course of a speech said, that while he was absent General Harrison had attacked his people, but that it had all been made right between him and the General. His declarations in favor of peace were not well received by some of the other tribes, and one of the Pottawattamie chiefs, in reply to him, said he hoped that Tecumseh's future conduct would prove that he was anxious for peace. Each of the tribes present made renewed declarations of their intentions to keep peace with the Americans, but some of the tribes soon began to prepare for hostilities.

The declaration of war against Great Britain started out quite a number of small Indian parties, but for some months Indiana escaped, owing to the fact that the tribes were destitute and almost starving. The surrender of Detroit, and one or two small successes of the Indians near Chicago, set all the tribes in a blaze, and early in September hostile Indians began to gather in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne. About the same time a strong party made an unsuccessful attack upon Fort Harrison, while other bands penetrated far into the Territory, stealing and killing at several points,

and massacred twenty-four persons at Pigeon Roost, in Scott County. The attack on Fort Harrison was made on the night of the 3d of September. The Indians succeeded in setting fire to one of the block houses. The garrison was commanded by Captain Zachary Taylor, afterward President of the United States. His force was small, but he kept up the fight, under the most discouraging circumstances, until the morning of the 5th, when the Indians had to abandon the attack. Captain Taylor had fire to fight as well as Indians, and it was only through his courage and endurance that the fort was saved. A few days afterward a small detachment of troops, guarding supplies on the way to the fort, was attacked and nearly all killed.

The Pigeon Roost Massacre was the worst that ever occurred in the State. This settlement was founded in 1809, and consisted of several families. On the afternoon of the 3d of September, 1812, Jeremiah Payne and a man named Coffman, who were out in the woods about two miles north of the settlement, were surprised by the Indians and killed. The Indians then attacked the settlement and killed one man, five women and sixteen children. The cabins of the settlers were fired and burned. A Mrs. Jane Riggs, with her three small children, escaped from the settlement, and after wandering around all night reached her brother's house, some six miles away, about daylight. William Collings, an old man who was in one of the cabins, with Captain John Norris, defended his cabin for a long time against the attacks of the savages, and as soon as it grew dark they both escaped, taking with them two children. They also arrived at the cabin of the brother of Mrs. Riggs, at an early hour in the morning. The Indians were hotly pursued by the militia, but escaped.

In September, 1812, Fort Wayne was destined to undergo a memorable siege by the Indians. Several hundred savages gathered around the fort and formed a plan to capture it by stratagem. One day, under a flag of truce, a large body of Indians approached the fort, hoping to gain admittance, but the agent only admitted thirteen of the principal chiefs. The guards of the fort were kept under arms during the council. Winemac, the chief of the Pottawattamies, was the principal speaker. It had been arranged that at a given time Winemac was to give the signal by pronouncing the words, "I am a man!" At this signal the Indians were to attack the whites who were at the council, and, overthrowing them, to at once admit the warriors who were on the outside. Winemac made a long speech, in which he denied that the Pottawattamies had anything to do with the depredations complained of, or with the killing of any of the whites. His speech had been pacific enough, until finally striking his breast, he said, "But if my father wishes for war, I am a man!" Among those present at the council was a man by the name of Bondie, who had long lived among the Indians, and knew their character well. He had been expecting treachery, and was on the watch for the least sign. From appearances he felt satisfied that the remark of Winemac was a signal, and he jumped to his feet in the presence of the Indian, and striking his hand fiercely on his knife, shouted in the Indian language, "I am a man, too!" This disconcerted the Indians, and before they could recover themselves the agent broke up the council and ordered the chiefs out of the fort. The commander of the fort was one Captain Rhea, who had been a gallant soldier, but was given to intoxication.

He had taken no steps to defend the fort, or to send

word to General Harrison of his perilous condition. The next morning the Indians opened fire on the fort, and wounded two soldiers, who died the same day. The same day a white man and two friendly Indians succeeded in breaking through the Indian lines and reaching the fort, bearing the welcome intelligence that General Harrison would soon march to the relief of the garrison. The siege was actively pressed by the Indians, and a fire on the fort was kept up day and night, but without doing much damage. On the morning of the 6th of September, General Harrison started from Piqua, Ohio, to raise the siege. The Indians tried to draw him into an ambush, but General Harrison had been too long serving against them for such an attempt to succeed. He arrived at the fort on the morning of the 12th of September, and the Indians hastily retreated.

Operating with the Indians were several British traders from Detroit and Canada, and among other devices to terrify the garrison into a surrender, they hollowed out two or three logs, to represent cannon, and fired them at the fort several times. The little garrison would not be thus terrified, and held out to the last, fighting the Indians off, and putting out the fires as fast as they were lighted by the savages. The garrison lost but three men, while the Indians had quite a number killed. Around the fort had grown up quite a little village. It was occupied by French and American families. They had all been taken into the fort, but their cabins were destroyed by the Indians, together with all their other property. General Harrison sent out expeditions to destroy the Indian villages in that section, and all the towns on the Wabash and Elkhart Rivers, with all corn and other crops were destroyed.

By the end of September, 1812, about two thousand armed men had assembled at Vincennes, collected to operate against the Indians of the Wabash. They were under the command of General Hopkins, who had been a distinguished officer of the Revolutionary War. General Hopkins started on an expedition against the Kickapoos, but after marching four or five days his troops mutinied and he was forced to return.

On reaching Vincennes he discharged the mutinous troops, and at once organized another force. With that he again marched into the hostile country, and destroyed several large villages, together with a great quantity of corn. On the 21st of November, one of his parties was fired upon and one soldier killed. The next day a company of sixty mounted rangers went out to bury the slain soldier, but were ambushed and lost eighteen men, killed, wounded and missing. The next day a terrible storm of snow delayed pursuit of the hostiles, and before the pursuit could be resumed they had made good their escape. The weather turning intensely cold, and the troops being without any supplies of winter clothing, General Hopkins decided to return. Captain Zachary Taylor took an active part in this campaign, being in command of a company of regulars.

On the failure of General Hopkins' expedition it was determined to send out another, to destroy the towns of the Miamis on the banks of the Mississinnewa. The Miamis were professing friendship, but it was known that some of their warriors had been engaged in the attacks on Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison, and at least one of them had participated in the Pigeon Roost massacre. The expedition to destroy the Miami towns was placed under Lieutenant Colonel John B. Campbell, of the regular army. He was

given a force of about six hundred mounted men. Colonel Campbell was instructed that some of the Miami chiefs had been the undeviating friends of the Americans, and care should be taken that those friendly chiefs should not suffer. Those friendly Indians were Richardville, Silver Heels, White Loon, Pecan, Charley, and Godfrey.

The expedition did not get away from Dayton until the 14th of December, but then, notwithstanding it was bleak winter weather, and the roads through deep forests, Colonel Campbell pushed forward with the utmost energy, marching from forty to fifty miles a day. Early on the morning of the 17th he reached the Indian town on the Misisissinnewa. His approach had not been discovered by the enemy and his troops rushed into the town, killed several warriors and captured quite a number of prisoners. He burned the town and pushed rapidly on to the other villages. During the day he took and burned two or three other towns, destroyed all the cattle and other property, and returned to the first village destroyed, and camped for the night. It was a sudden and complete vengeance. On the morning of the 18th, about 4 o'clock, he called a meeting of his officers to consult as to future movements, and while the consultation was going on his camp was furiously assailed by a large body of Indians. The engagement lasted about an hour, when by several gallant charges the enemy was routed.

The Americans suffered a loss of several killed. The Indians were so rapidly driven back that they were compelled to leave fifteen of their dead on the field. The weather was intensely cold, and the troops were suffering for the want of supplies, and as Colonel Campbell obtained information that Tecumseh, with a much larger body of



Indians, was not far distant, he determined to send to Greenville for reinforcements and to retreat in that direction. The troops retired and were not molested. The suffering of the troops must have been terrible, for when the relief they had sent for reached them, 300 of the men were disabled from frostbites. Soon after the battle of Mississinewa the Delawares and a part of the Miamis removed to Ohio, and placed themselves under the protection of the Government. The rest of the Miamis went to Detroit and joined the British at that post. In September, 1813, the British were forced to abandon Detroit by the approach of General Harrison, and then all the hostile tribes sued for peace.

So far as Indiana was concerned, during the year 1813 they were practically at peace, that is, they did not venture to attack any of the block houses or forts, but small scouting parties often penetrated the settlements, eluded the vigilance of the rangers, killed a white man here and there and then escaped. Several were thus killed in the immediate neighborhood of Vincennes, and a great deal of property run off or destroyed. Some were killed in Franklin County and some in Wayne. There were also some murders in the immediate vicinity of Fort Harrison. The militia, or rangers, whose duty it was to protect the settlements, had a hard work to do. The Indians divided up into small bands of half a dozen or more warriors, and it was not hard for them to hide their trail after committing some depredation. The rangers, however, did, on several occasions, get close enough to them to punish them very severely.

One of the most active of the rangers was John Tipton, afterward United States Senator. He was a young man of tireless energy and persistence, and who had a deep hatred

to the Indians, who had killed his father. He had several fights with the marauding parties, and was uniformly successful. Each of the rangers carried his own supplies, and was armed with a rifle and large knife, and some of them carried in addition a tomahawk. The rangers patrolled the whole line of frontier settlements, and as most of them were never mustered into the United States service, only a few received any pay, or afterward the benefit of the pension laws. They camped in the woods, and frequently were compelled to go several days without anything to eat except wild fruit, or game that could be run down. Several expeditions were sent out to destroy the Indian towns. The most important of these was one led by Colonel Joseph Bartholomew against the Delaware towns on White River, and one under Colonel William Russell, against the towns on the Mississinnewa. The towns were completely destroyed, together with whatever property could be found. These active measures soon put an end to Indian depredations for that year. The defeat of the Indians and British, on the 5th of October, by General Harrison, at the battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh was killed, gave peace to the borders.

The conduct of the Tippecanoe campaign by General Harrison, in 1811, was severely criticised in many directions, and he was condemned by a number of distinguished officers for permitting himself to go into camp at a place so open to attack, but no one has criticised his campaign of 1813, which ended in driving the British from American soil, and culminated in the battle of the Thames. An armistice with the Indians was entered into by General Harrison immediately after the battle of the Thames, and the Indians returned to their homes. Their condition was soon one of destitution, as all their crops had been destroyed, and they

had nothing on which to subsist except the product of their hunts. In January, 1814, about one thousand Miamis, of whom seven hundred were women and children, assembled in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne in a starving condition. Large numbers of Pottawattamies followed them, and the whole were partly supplied from the government stores. The different tribes of Indians living in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan were invited to meet commissioners of the Government at Greenville, Ohio, in June, 1814, for the purpose of making a treaty. Many of the tribes responded, and at the time of holding the council about four thousand of them were present. The council was continued until the last of July, when a treaty was finally negotiated. It did not end all predatory incursions, however, for during the years 1814 and 1815 small bodies of Indians made frequent forays, killing settlers and stealing property. A detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant Morrison, was surprised near Fort Harrison and five of them killed.

It was not until some time after Indiana was admitted as a State into the Union, that all Indian depredations ceased. Occasional murders occurred and property was stolen. George Pogue, the first white man to settle on the present site of Indianapolis, was killed in 1819. The Indians frequently suffered from lawless white men. But, as a whole, the settlements had comparative quiet after the final end of the last war with Great Britain. At this place it is well to note a singular attempt of Great Britain to induce the United States to give up a large part of the land it had acquired by the treaty of peace at the close of the Revolutionary War, and to give the English a good foothold through which to pursue other aggressive designs. One of the things insisted upon by the English Commissioners at

Ghent, in 1815, at the opening of the negotiations for peace, was that all the territory now occupied by the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and the larger part of Indiana, and about one-third of Ohio, should be set apart for the Indians to constitute an Indian sovereignty, under British protection, to serve as a "buffer," a perpetual protection of the British possessions against American ambition. The United States was to agree not to purchase the lands from the Indians at any time. This absurd proposition was made as a *sine qua non* of the negotiations. The proposition was made with such haughtiness that it fired the American envoys and they at once rejected it, and declared their intention of going home. This determined stand by the American envoys alarmed the British Government, and the Duke of Wellington was called into counsel. He emphatically expressed himself against any attempt to acquire territorial acquisitions, or to make any demand that would afford the Americans any grounds for abandoning the negotiations, and the British Commissioners were instructed accordingly, and the degrading proposition was withdrawn.

## CHAPTER VI.

### INDIANA—TOPOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, FLORA AND FAUNA.

Indiana was the second State carved out of the territory northwest of the Ohio River, ceded by Virginia to the General Government. By the Ordinance of 1787, accepting the cession by Virginia, it was provided that the territory should eventually be divided into not less than three nor more than five States. The present State of Indiana is situated between the parallels of 37 degrees 47 minutes, and 41 degrees, 46 minutes north latitude, and between 84 degrees, 46 minutes and 88 degrees 2 minutes west longitude. The extreme length of the State from north to south is 276 miles, and the average width from east to west is 140 miles, making the gross square miles in the State 36,350, of which 440 are water, and 35,910 land. The acres in the State amount to 22,082,400. The Ohio River on the south and the Wabash River on the west, forming parts of the boundaries of the State, make the lines on the south and west somewhat irregular. On April 19, 1816, Congress passed an ordinance providing for the admission of the State into the Union. By that ordinance it was declared that the new State should be "bounded on the east by the meridian line which forms the western boundary of the State of Ohio, being a north line from the mouth of the Miami. On the south

by the Ohio River from the mouth of the Great Miami to the mouth of the River Wabash; on the west by a line drawn along the middle of the Wabash from its mouth to a point where a due north line drawn from the town of Vincennes would last touch the northwestern shore of said river, and from thence, by a due north line until the same shall intersect an east and west line drawn through a point ten miles north of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan; on the north by the said east and west line until the same shall intersect the first mentioned meridian line which forms the western boundary of the State of Ohio."

On the 10th day of June, 1816, a convention of the people of Indiana, elected to frame and adopt a constitution and organize a State Government, met at Corydon, then the Capital of the Territory, and on the 29th of the same month, adopted the following Ordinance:

"Be it ordained by the Representatives of the people of the Territory of Indiana, in convention met at Corydon, on Monday, the 10th day of June, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixteen, that we do for ourselves and our posterity, agree, determine, declare and ordain, that we will, and do hereby accept the propositions of the Congress of the United States, as made and contained in their act of the 19th day of April, eighteen hundred and sixteen, entitled 'An act to enable the people of Indiana Territory to form a State Government and Constitution for the admission of such State into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States.'

"And we do further, for ourselves and our posterity, hereby ratify, confirm and establish the boundaries of the said State of Indiana as fixed, prescribed, laid down, and established in the act of Congress aforesaid; and we do also

further, for ourselves and our posterity, hereby decree, determine, declare and ordain, that each and every tract of land sold by the United States, lying within the said State, and which shall be sold from and after the first day of December next, shall be and remain exempt from any tax, laid by order or under any authority of the said State of Indiana, or by or under the authority of the General Assembly thereof; whether for State, County or Township, or any purpose whatever, for the term of five years from and after the day of sale of any such tract of land; and we do moreover for ourselves, and our posterity, hereby declare and ordain that this ordinance and every part thereof shall forever remain irrevocable and inviolate without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, first had and obtained for the alteration thereof, or any part thereof."

It would look as if the act of Congress fixing the boundaries of the State was clear enough not to cause any confusion or dispute, yet at one time and another both Ohio and Michigan have set up claims to a part of the territory thus set apart to form the State of Indiana. Several times Ohio has set up a claim to a strip of land along the eastern boundary. This confusion, or claim, arose from a difference between the line as described in the act of April 19, 1816, and that of May 7, 1800, dividing the territory northwest of the Ohio River into two districts. By that act Congress declared, "that from and after the fourth day of July next all that part of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, which lies to the eastward of a line beginning at the Ohio opposite to the mouth of Kentucky River, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of tempo-

rary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana territory."

The mouth of the Kentucky River is several miles west of that of the Great Miami. The line provided for in the act of May 7, 1800, would not have been a due north and south line, but would have run east of north until it reached Fort Recovery, on the headwaters of the Wabash, and from thence it was to run due north. Such a line as that proposed by the act of May 7, 1800, would have given to Ohio quite a strip along the southeastern side of Indiana, while it would have added to Indiana some of the territory now in Ohio, north of Fort Recovery. By Article 5, of the Ordinance of 1787, it was provided that the territory northwest of the Ohio should eventually be divided into not less than three, nor more than five States, and the boundary lines of three of those States were fixed and determined, and in that article it was provided that the line dividing what are now the States of Indiana and Ohio should begin at the mouth of the Great Miami, and run due north, being the same line as that fixed by the act of April 19, 1816. In dividing the territory into two districts Congress paid some attention to the dividing lines between the lands which had been ceded by the Indians and those which still remained in possession of the original occupants. When it came time to define the boundaries of the State of Indiana, the line between the lands of the United States and those of the Indians had been materially changed, so Congress could drop back to the lines established in the ordinance of compact between the Government and the State of Virginia.

The contention of the State of Michigan arose from a similar confusion. In 1805, it was deemed best by Congress to again divide the territory into two districts, and, by an



act approved January 11, of that year, the Territory of Indiana was divided, and that of Michigan formed. According to this act of Congress, the Territory of Michigan was formed out of "all that part of the Indiana territory which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend of Lake Michigan, until it shall intersect Lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of said lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States." Michigan assumed that the United States had no right to take any part of the territory set off under that name. Michigan at that time was a Territory, under the direct government of Congress, and not a State organization. No serious attention has ever been paid to these claims. They have amused the people of Michigan and Ohio for awhile, at different times, while Indiana has gone on exercising jurisdiction over the disputed territory.

About two-thirds of the State is nearly level. There are no elevations arising to the dignity of mountains, but the hills, or "knobs," along the Ohio River are very bold and picturesque. The river hills from the eastern boundary of the State to a point about five miles below the Falls of the Ohio, are not as high as those below, which have received the name of "knobs." These knobs generally extend into the interior about fifty miles, and some of them rise to an elevation of 500 feet. Originally they were covered with a dense growth of small pines, which grow nowhere else in the State. Chestnut trees also abounded. On the southeast shore of Lake Michigan the winds drifted up the sand so as to form a mound or wall about 150 feet high. The hills from the Ohio extend as far north as Monroe and Brown Counties, but between them are many stretches of level or

rolling ground. The Ohio Valley, embracing that of White Water, contains about 5,000 square miles. This is a limestone region, and was originally mostly covered by heavy forest trees. Generally the soil is rich. The hills are abrupt and broken and rise to a height of about four hundred feet. The White River Valley extends from the Wabash River to the Ohio line, across the center of the State, and covers about 9,000 square miles. It is almost uniformly level and was heavily timbered, with the exception of some of the western counties embraced in the valley. Most of the streams watering this valley are clear, and some of them furnish good water power. The soil is generally rich. The largest valley is that of the Wabash. It covers about 12,000 square miles. It is more broken than that of White River, and is interspersed with small prairies and barrens of oak openings. The north part of the State is watered by the two St. Josephs and the Kankakee. Much of this part of the State was at one time spongy or swampy, but now has been drained, forming the richest agricultural district in the State. The prairies have been in a high state of cultivation for many years.

The geological history of Indiana practically begins with the "Lower Silurian Era." The characteristic rocks of this era are the calciferous sand rock, the Trenton limestone, the Utica and Hudson River or Cincinnati shales. The sand rock does not seem to be represented in Indiana, but the others are surface rocks in several Counties of southeastern Indiana, and are underlying rocks over the rest of the State. The life of this era, as shown by its fossil remains, was much like that of the Cambrian, but they show some progress in the forms of life. The limestones which make up the principal strata of this era in Indiana, seem to have been formed

in shallow coast waters, the land slowly encroaching on the sea. The era closed with the elevation of the Taconic system in the east, and the Cincinnati arch in the central regions. The Cincinnati uplift extends from the vicinity of Cincinnati northwestwardly across Indiana, and northwardly through Ohio. It consists of many ridges or folds, which are important features in the geological formations of this State. The Trenton limestone was originally simple carbonate of lime, but in some localities it has changed to a porous magnesian limestone, which has become a reservoir for mineral oil and natural gas.

The earliest rock of the Upper Silurian Era, is the Medina sandstone, which does not appear in Indiana. Following the sandstone were the Niagara and Clinton limestones and shales, which extend over the greater part of Indiana. They are surface rocks in Wabash, Miami, Wells, Huntington, Adams, Grant, Blackford, Marion, Tipton, Clark, and other Counties of eastern Indiana. The life of this era was abundant. The Niagara and Clinton limestones are noted for the number and variety of their fossils. The life was much like that of the Lower Silurian, but with more species of insects and fishes. During this era there seems to have been shallow seas with coral reefs and myriads of mollusks, brachiopods, crustaceans and similar forms of life.

The rocks of the Devonian Era found in Indiana are the Corniferous limestones and Genesee shales. They underlie the northern and western parts of the State, and are surface rocks in Jefferson, Rush, Jennings, Bartholomew, Decatur, Shelby, Johnson, Tippecanoe, Cass, Wabash, Clark and Floyd Counties. In this era some forms of life plants became abundant. The rocks in Indiana, of the Subcarboniferous Period are the sandstones and shales of the Knob-

stone group, the limestone and shales of the Keokuk group, the famous oolitic limestones with the shales and other limestones of the St. Louis group, and the sandstones, shales and limestones of the Chester group. The limestones of this period abound in fossil crinoids, brachiopods and corals. These are outcropping rocks in Washington, Orange, Crawford, Brown, Monroe, Harrison, Floyd, Lawrence, Owen, Morgan, Putnam, Benton, Hendricks, Montgomery, Tippecanoe, Perry, Jackson, White and Jasper Counties. The rocks of the Carboniferous Period consists of thirteen or fourteen coal seams, with their associated sandstones, shales and limestones. These are surface rocks in Posey, Vanderburgh, Warrick, Spencer, Gibson, Pike, Dubois, Knox, Daviess, Martin, Sullivan, Greene, Clay, Vigo, Parke, Vermillion, Perry, Owen, Crawford, Fountain and Warren Counties. The basic rock of the coal measures is generally a coarse-grained sandstone, known as the millstone grit or conglomerate sandstone.

While considerable work has been done in a desultory fashion for many years upon the flora of the State, it is only since the organization of the State Biological survey, by the Academy of Science, that any attempt has been made to co-ordinate the ascertained facts in such a way that they might be of practical value. The numerous lists of plants which have been published through various channels, have their value, but this value can only be appreciated by the expert. The importance of a complete and thorough study of the State flora is perhaps not sufficiently appreciated by the general public. Even from a utilitarian point of view, such a study is of the highest importance. United States Botanist Coville, in his Botany of the Death Valley Expedition, pp 10-19, speaking especially of shrubs and trees, says:

"They therefore stand as the most complete summation that can be attained of the natural light, heat, moisture, food, air and mechanic of any area; in other words, a sure index of the *natural agricultural capacity* of the soil upon which they grow. \* \* \* \* It has been the practice of agriculturists to gauge the capacity of soils, in regions new to the plow, by observations on rainfall, temperature, cloudiness, chemical composition of the soil, drainage and many other phenomena, or by the even more laborious process of experimenting on every farm with each kind of cultivated product; ignoring the fact that this determination can be greatly hastened, cheapened and authenticated by correlating the natural vegetation, especially that made up of the trees and shrubs, with that of other regions whose agricultural capacities are known."

It is in these lines that the present botanical work of Indiana is being directed by those having it in charge, in the expectation that in the near future we may have a full knowledge of the natural agricultural capacity of the various sections of the State, and thus save the vast expenditure of time and money upon experiments that in the very nature of things can but fail. A brief sketch of the flora of the State has, therefore, a very definite place in the history of the State, as a datum line from which its future progress can be predicated. A compacted presentation such as this can at best be but a mere sketch, and must deal only with the more apparent features of the flora.

Of the flowering plants, excluding the ferns and their allies, between one thousand four hundred and one thousand five hundred species are found in the State, and are verified by specimens in various herbaria. These species are distributed through some ninety families, the largest of

which, both in number of species and of individuals, is the composital. In Indiana, this great family, known by the collection of the flowers into a close head, surrounded by an involucre, determines the physiognomy of the landscape, specially in the later summer months and the fall. The golden rods, asters, bonesets, white tops, thistles, wild lettuce, sunflower, Spanish needles and iron weeds are familiar examples. Very few of the plants of this family, within our bounds, have any economic value, if we except some few instances in which they are used in medicine. None, so far as is known, are poisonous to the touch, although one of the cockleburs and some of the thistles are occasionally so accused. Professor Stanley Coulter, the eminent biologist of Purdue University, in his pursuit of knowledge on this question, made repeated experiments on his own person, and upon his students, and failed to verify their alleged poisonous qualities. Some few of them are annoying weeds, but the number is very small when we consider the large number of species of this family occurring within our boundaries. Weeds of this family, however, for the most part, yield possession of the soil upon its careful cultivation. Some two hundred and thirteen species, or about one-seventh, of all the flowering plants of the State, belong to this family.

Perhaps next in point of numbers and distribution, is to be ranked the pulse family, or the leguminosae. Here occur the clovers, the wild peas and beans, and the vetches. The family also includes some tree forms of greater or less value, notable among which are the black and honey locusts, the coffee tree and the red bud. The value of the herbaceous forms in this family, other than the clovers, has not been carefully investigated, but it is probable that many of the

forms will be found to have a high value as forage plants. Under present conditions, they are regarded, within our bounds, as weeds, although in other sections of the country they are highly prized for their forage value. These plants are, as a rule, not especially showy, and thus often escape the notice of the casual observer.

Ranking third, perhaps, in number of species, would come the great labiate, or mint family, familiar to every one because of its square stems, opposite leaves and aromatic odor. Many of the plants in this family have a high medicinal value, and furnish products which would justify their careful cultivation. This is especially true in the case of the peppermints, which are now being cultivated quite largely in the northern section of the State, and where the oil secured by distillation yields a large profit to the grower. Ranking next, perhaps, in numbers, but easily first in point of economic importance among our herbaceous plants, is the grass family, or the gramineae. Some fifty or sixty species of native grasses are found in the State, many of which are of known value as forage plants; many others of which would justify careful and extended trial. It is manifestly impossible to further extend the enumeration of the families in detail. Families which give character to the landscape, and have a large number of species, are the sedges, the crowfoots, the rose family, the lily family, the milkweeds, the honeysuckles and the umbellifers. Other families of fewer species also enter in to lend their aid in the interpretation of the capacity of the soil and serve to determine, in their varying seasons, the landscape features.

In a general way, it may be stated that so far as our present knowledge goes, the great majority of our herbaceous flowering plants have no economic value. Man, in

his migrations, has carried with him food plants that have stood the test of centuries, and has been content with them. What possibilities lie in our native flora, which might be developed by a course of careful cultivation and judicious selection cannot be stated. It is, however, certain that many useful fruits and grains and forage plants might be developed from the working material at hand did the necessity arise.

It is certainly within the bounds of possibility that our persimmon would respond to cultivation and selection so as to make a desirable and valuable fruit. Indeed, the promise is so great that work in this direction is already being prosecuted, with astonishing results in the increase in size of the fruit, a decrease in number and size of seeds, and a diminution of that acrid, puckery constituent of the fruit which has heretofore limited its use. Should these trials succeed their economic value is evident.

The paw-paw is another of our native fruits that would well repay careful culture and selection. At present it leaves much to be desired in the way of firmness; it has too much odor, and is apt to cloy because of its sweetness. But these are very minor points when we examine the history of almost any of our fruits, and could, without doubt, be easily eliminated. The possibility of a fruit of as high food value and universal demand as the banana, lies in the despised and rejected paw-paw. Our wild yellow or red plum, known ordinarily as the "goose plum," and some of our wild grapes, notably the fox grape, would evidently need but little care to make them of the highest value. There is every argument in favor of the development of these native plants, and nothing that can be urged against it, save man's inertia and the inherent tendency of the times to undertake nothing which



does not promise immediate results. Immense improvements are possible in our native blackberries, though even now they have their place in the market and produce large revenues. Yet this revenue could be very greatly increased with but a trifling expenditure of time and labor. Some of the haws, the service berry, and others are at least suggestive of future possibilities.

The nut fruits of the State are almost wholly neglected, and yet, in their present condition, when gathered at the proper season and suitably cared for, they find a ready market. Many thousands of dollars are being annually lost to the State by the failure to utilize this very evident natural resource. The ready response of nut-bearing trees in other regions to cultivation, in the increase of production, and in desirable qualities, and a consideration of the enormous revenues derived from their sale, renders this failure on our part the more inexplicable. It is true the chestnut orchards in some regions of the "Knobs" produce some revenue, but for the most part nuts are regarded as the perquisite of the small boy, rather than as a natural resource, to be carefully guarded and developed. We have already suggested the possibility of developing new and valuable forage stuffs from the raw material at hand, and this, of course, is but an attempt to utilize the natural capacity of the soil to its fullest possibilities.

Many of the flowering plants are of such rare beauty that it is very strange they have failed to attract the attention of floriculturists. Almost all of our orchids, and thirty-eight species of this family are native to the State, are of sufficient beauty in flower or foliage to justify their culture. Our representative of the genus orchis, with its large, shining oval leaves and compact spike of pink to purple

flowers with white lips, is of exceptional beauty and grace. The various fringed orchids belonging to the genus *habenaria* are both striking and brilliant, while the lady slippers and *pogonias* are hardly less attractive. These, and the more inconspicuous members of the family lend themselves readily to cultivation and would, without doubt, richly repay the care spent upon them.

Almost as much can be said of our gentians, both fringed and closed, while many of the lily family are as delicately beautiful or as highly colored as their better known relatives of the hot house. Among the lobelias, the dense spikes and rich blue of the greater lobelia, and the brilliant red spikes of the cardinal flower, at once suggest themselves, because of their brilliance and length of flowering season. Among the wild pinks, in the rose family, in the heath family, among the phloxes, are numbers of forms which in beauty and every desirable feature rival the products of the hot house. No richer material can be given into the hands of the flower lover than is to be found in our native flora. Many other of our plants lend themselves peculiarly to mass decorations and should find a more prominent place in our parks and public gardens. The golden rods, with graceful yellow plumes, *liatris*, with its magnificent rich, purple spikes, the sunflower and their allies, the asters, of every conceivable hue, are illustrations in point. In Jackson Park, Chicago, these and other forms are now being largely used near Wooded Island with wonderful effect. They require but slight care, are easily obtained, and maintain themselves without difficulty, since they are indigenous to the soil. No better plants could be selected for lawn decoration or for beautifying the unsightly banks of waterways.

Relatively few of the plants of the State are poisonous

to the touch. Without doubt the most poisonous is the form known as the poison oak or ivy, readily recognized by its irregular, three-parted leaves. Even in this case the poisonous qualities are largely conditioned by personal idiosyncrasy. Many persons can handle the plant at any season with impunity, while others apparently are unable to approach it without danger. It poisons not so much by contact as by a volatile substance exhaled from its surface, so that those who are susceptible to its influence should, if possible, keep at a considerable distance from it. Another member of the same genus, the sumach, is also poisonous in exceptional cases. The poison in this case seems to reside in the berry clusters, which are often gathered for ornament. These should be handled with care, for if the person gathering them is at all susceptible, a violent poisoning which affects particularly the lips and eyelids and nostrils, is almost certain. One of the ground cherries, or night shades, easily recognizable because of the purple hue of its under leaf surface, is also to be regarded with very grave suspicion. The poisoning from this form closely resembles that of the poison ivy, but is eradicated from the system with far greater difficulty. The lady slippers, belonging to the orchid family are also poisonous in some instances, and should be carefully handled by persons who are at all liable to poisonous effects. In almost every case, however, the point as to whether a plant is poisonous or not, is conditioned by the individual. Professor Coulter repeatedly tested the above forms upon himself, and always failed to produce unfavorable results, save in one instance with the poison ivy.

Many other plants, or plant parts, are poisonous when taken internally. In this class the most evidently dangerous are various members of the family known as the umbelli-

ferae, to which belong the wild parsnips and carrots. It is safe to regard as dangerous all parts of a native umbellifer. Of almost equal danger are many members of the potato family, in which are found our ground cherries and night shades, while various species of the poppy family are scarcely less to be avoided. Very few of the native berries and fruits are hurtful, unless eaten in excessive quantities, with, perhaps, the exception of the well-known poke berry. Many have irritating properties, due either to mechanical causes or chemical constitution, which are scarcely less annoying than a genuine toxic character. A safe rule is never to put in the mouth any part of a plant, the character of which is not fully understood.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the State flora, both from a scientific and economic view, is that which treats of the forest trees. The census of 1880 showed Indiana as holding the sixth place in the list of lumber producing States. At that time 4,335,161 acres, out of her total of 21,637,760 acres, was still forest covered. Since that time, however, the denudation of her forest areas, through clearing, by fires, and for economic purposes, has been extremely rapid. It is doubtful if there is now in the State more than 1,500,000 acres of forests. Even in these areas most of the best timber has been removed, so that what remains can but little more than remind us of the wealth of the past.

The uses of forest areas are so manifold and apparent, that little need be said concerning them in this connection. Aside from any of the remoter advantages, however, forests should be considered as a direct source of wealth, a source of wealth so important as to justify a careful study of those conditions which will best serve for their development, of proper methods for the conservation of the small areas yet

remaining, and of species suitable for the reforestation of waste regions. Much of the land of the State now utterly valueless, could be made to yield handsome revenues in the future, and existing forests under proper treatment could be made to yield a constant income, and at the same time to constantly increase in value. Every year forest owners, through carelessness or ignorance, are wasting valuable property. The amount of timber that has been allowed to go to waste in the past history of the State, because of the failure to appreciate the true value of the forests, would have been sufficient, had it been preserved until the present, to pay for every acre of land in the State. Almost all of the first growth of black walnut in the State has been removed, because of its high commercial value, but in almost every County, rods of rail fences built of this wood, puncheon floors, rafters of barns and sheds attest its reckless use in the past. The same thing is true, in a very great degree of the poplar. Of course it was needful to reduce the original forests in order to gain agricultural areas. But the demand for crop areas having been satisfied, the remaining timber lands should be so treated as to secure their constant reproduction and betterment. It is only possible in this connection to state the fact, that apart from any aesthetic or sentimental view, forests have a value as a direct source of wealth, and that their control in such a manner as to result in the greatest income without detriment, is a problem of profound economic interest.

Accepting Sargent's definition that trees "are species which grow from the ground with a single stem, either wholly or over a large portion of the area of their distribution, without reference to the size or height they may attain," Indiana contains one hundred and nine species, rep-

representing fifty-three genera, and twenty-five families. Of these species twenty-four, or nearly one-fourth of the total number, are found in the cupuliferous or oak family. The genus *Quercus*, which includes the true oaks is represented in the State by fifteen species, most of them being forms of large size, and of great economic value. In some localities the oaks almost wholly make up entire forests, although as a rule Indiana forests are mixed, no one form being especially dominant. Next to the oaks in number of species, stand the Rosaceae, represented by four genera and eleven species. The trees of this family found within our bounds are for the most part of small size and slight economic value. The Juglandaceae show nine species included in two genera. Nearly all the forms found in this family are of high value.

The coniferae, or cone bearing family is represented by eight species. The distribution of these forms, and the number of individuals in each form, are both so limited that they have not the economic value which their qualities would suggest. The maple family, the elm family, and the willows are each represented by seven species, while the ash family follows closely with six.

As suggested above the coniferae, because of paucity of numbers, and imperfect development, are of slight importance. A single exception is found in the case of the "Bald Cypress." Its presence at all in the State is apparently anomalous, since it is distinctively a southern form. It is limited to the southwestern Counties of the State, where the so-called cypress swamps cover an area of nearly twenty thousand acres. It is a large tree, from eighty to one hundred feet high, with a trunk from six to thirteen feet in diameter. It forms forests in submerged swamps and river bottoms, and has such an extremely high commercial value

that it is being recklessly exterminated. In the highland region of the State, embracing Jay, Delaware, Wayne and Randolph Counties, the conifers are entirely wanting. The sugar maple is perhaps the most universally distributed form in the State, being reported from all except two Counties. Of course since the settlement of the State, the distribution of the timber has been largely changed. Much of the original forest has been cleared for cultivation, while nearly all of the smaller prairies have become woodland. As a rule the southern portion of the State is the more heavily timbered, the maximum development seeming to occur in the southwestern Counties, although, perhaps, in Jackson, and some of the adjoining Counties, as large forms in as great numbers may be found.

The most cursory examination of the list of the forest trees of the United States serves to show that an unusually large number of hard-wood trees reach their highest development, both in numbers and size, in the Lower Wabash Valley. From a series of measurements made by Dr. Robert Ridgway, of the Smithsonian Institute, the following table has been drawn, which may serve to give some idea of the size of our forest trees:

TABLE OF ASCERTAINED HEIGHTS.

Number of species reaching 100 feet.....	42
“ “ “ 105 “ .....	38
“ “ “ 110 “ .....	36
“ “ “ 115 “ .....	34
“ “ “ 120 “ .....	27
“ “ “ 125 “ .....	24
“ “ “ 130 “ .....	21

Number of species reaching 135 feet.....	20
“ “ “ 140 “ .....	15
“ “ “ 145 “ .....	14
“ “ “ 150 “ .....	13
“ “ “ 155 “ .....	11
“ “ “ 160 “ .....	8
“ “ “ 165 “ .....	6
“ “ “ 170 “ .....	4
“ “ “ 175 “ .....	3
“ “ “ 180 “ .....	2
“ “ “ 190 “ .....	1

The tallest of the forms found in the State is the yellow poplar, although it is closely pressed by one of the oaks.

Using the words “economic value” as meaning of use in manufacture, seventy-five of the one hundred and nine species found in the State have such value. Of this number forty-eight, or more than one-half may be classed as of the first rank. Of this group nearly two thirds are found in very considerable numbers throughout the entire State, excepting only in limited areas included in the “barrens” and prairies. The other forms of this group are either local in their distribution or found in relatively small numbers. In some cases the real value of the form is not fully appreciated as is shown in the treatment accorded the lins and buckeyes, both of which forms have a high value for special purposes. Most of the species included in the second group, under existing conditions, are of little value, but the rapid reduction in numbers of those of the first importance, is a sufficient argument for the preservation of these apparently worthless forms. When all conditions are taken into consideration, it can be said with safety, that no State in the



central United States has more varied or valuable timbers than are to be found within the boundaries of Indiana.

In this presentation has been omitted the so-called flowerless plants, because so little is known concerning them, that their consideration would appeal to very few readers. It must not be forgotten, however, that in point of numbers and perhaps, if we had full knowledge, in point of importance they would exceed the more widely known of flowering forms. When we remember that many of these lower forms condition success or failure in crops, determine largely success or failure in cattle raising, indeed seem to control our own personal health, we begin to appreciate their tremendous practical import. The study of these lower forms of plants, save in a few exceptional groups, is attended with great difficulty. Many factors combine to make the progress toward a full and complete knowledge of their life histories extremely slow and laborious. But the problems involved are of such profound importance that this full knowledge is but a matter of time. Nearly a thousand of these lower forms have been added to the flora of the State within the last few years, a number, which will, without doubt, be largely increased in the near future. The State flora, so far as our present knowledge goes, may be summarized as follows:

Flowering plants.....	1,500	species
Ferns and their allies.....	50	"
Mosses and liverworts.....	100	"
Lower forms.....	1,000	"

Professor A. W. Butler, in his interesting contribution to the Indiana Academy of Science, thus speaks of the changes in the fauna of Indiana that have been brought about within the last century:

"American Bisons, generally known as Buffaloes, ranged in countless numbers over the meadows and prairies at the time we first learn of them. The Whitewater and Miami valleys formed routes to the Ohio River and the Big Bone Lick, in Kentucky. The Wabash Valley became another avenue for their journeys, and the old trail from the prairies to the Kentucky barrens crossed the Wabash River below Vincennes. Over this wide, well-marked road, evidences of which still remain, countless thousands of Bisons passed annually. From the Ohio River to Big Bone Lick was a wide road which these animals had beaten 'spacious enough for two waggons to go abreast.' Evidence of their former abundance is preserved in the swamps about this lick. In places their bones are massed to the depth of two feet or more, as close as the stones of a pavement, and so beaten down by succeeding herds as to make it difficult to lift them from their beds. At the Blue Licks, in Kentucky, we are told in 1784: 'The amazing herds of buffaloes which resort thither, by their size and number, fill the traveler with amazement and terror, especially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to some populous city; the vast space of land around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains, for the land near these springs is chiefly hilly.' In the region that was densely wooded the Bisons were only seen as transients, but in the meadows and prairies they abounded. From the summit of the hill at Ouia-tenon we are told, in 1718: 'Nothing is visible to the eye but prairies full of buffaloes.'

"Elk were common, and Deer still more so. Bear and wolves were quite abundant. In one favorite locality, it is reported, a good hunter, without much fatigue to himself,

could supply daily one hundred men with meat. Beaver were found in many localities. Especially favorable to them were the more level regions to the northward. Otter were quite common, while the Wild Cat, Canada Porcupine and Panther were numerous.

"Of snakes, especially noticeable for their abundance, were Rattlesnakes and Copperheads. The ponds, sloughs and deeper swamps were the homes of many species of fishes, mollusks and crustaceans. The creeks, shaded by the closely crowding trees, contained water all the year round, and in them smaller fishes reared their young. The rivers were clogged and dammed with fallen trees and driftwood, and the water, when the streams were swollen by heavy rains, pouring over these obstructions cut deep holes, which became the homes of great numbers of the larger fishes.

"Wild Turkeys were found in large flocks. Bobwhites were so numerous that when they collected in the fall, as many as a hundred were taken in a day with a single net. Ruffed Grouse were abundant. Ducks and geese, snipe and plover were found in inestimable numbers where favorable conditions existed. Paroquets were more or less numerous over the entire region, and in the lower Wabash and White-water Valleys were as abundant as blackbirds now are in spring and fall. Passenger Pigeons bred and roosted in many localities. During the migrations they appeared in such numbers that they obscured the sun and hid the sky for hours; sometimes for days in succession. The strange appearance was made more wonderful by the continuous rumble of the thunders of the oncoming clouds—the noise of the strokes of millions upon millions of wings.

"Besides these, more rarely, Swallow-tailed Kites and Ivory-billed Woodpeckers added their characteristic forms

to the wild scenery. The Osprey and the Bald Eagle built their nests beside the streams, and while one fished the other plundered the fisher.

"Within the dense shades of the deeper woodland there was but a small number of birds. There quiet reigned. Twilight by day and densest darkness by night. How oppressive the awful quiet amid those gloomy solitudes! Everywhere the smaller birds were few compared with their present numbers.

"The story of the disappearance of the great animals of Europe; of the Bison and the Urus; of the extinction of the giant birds of New Zealand; of Steller's Sea Cow and the Great Auk, one each upon our eastern and western coast; the most wonderful destruction of the great herds of the American Bison, and the threatened extinction of the Fur Seal in the North Pacific, and of the Zebra, Camelopard and other large animals in Africa, are notable illustrations of the greater changes that have been wrought. But there are smaller ones not so conspicuous but more potent in their influences upon human welfare.

"The Bison, the most characteristic of all the animals of America, was the first to disappear from the region under consideration. Formerly it had ranged east, at least as far as western New York and Pennsylvania, and in States farther south almost to tide water, but about 1808 it was exterminated east of the Wabash River. The Elk followed it closely, disappearing from the Whitewater Valley about 1810, and from the State in 1830. The Panther followed soon after. Virginia Deer, Bear, Otters, Beavers, Wolves and other forms were almost exterminated, though of some, if not all of these latter forms, a remnant yet remains in some favored localities.

"Turkeys and Bobwhites; Ivory-billed Woodpeckers and

Wood Ibises; Black Vultures and Carolina Paroquets have been almost, or in a great measure, exterminated. The Paroquets which ranged to the great lakes and were so common a feature in the landscape of the pioneer times, have not only disappeared from Indiana, but from almost all the great range from Texas to New York, over which they spread at the beginning of this century, and are, perhaps, now only found in a restricted area in Florida. The day of their extirpation is near at hand.

"The Passenger Pigeon survived the beautiful little parrot until a later day. But nets and guns, a short-sighted people, and inefficient laws have all but swept out of existence this graceful bird. It is now on the verge of extinction. We can no more appreciate the accounts given of the innumerable hosts of these birds of passage than we can of the incalculable multitudes of the Bisons three score years ago. The words of those who saw them, we are assured, do not in any way convey an adequate idea of the wonderful sights and sounds during a flight of Pigeons. Some of their roosts covered many miles of forest. There, as they settled at evening, the gunners from near and far began to collect for the slaughter. The loaded trees upon the borders of the wood were first fired upon. Then the shooters passed into the denser forest. Three or four guns fired among the branches of a tree would bring down as many as a two-bushel sack of dead birds, while numbers of cripples fluttered beyond reach.

"To the meadows came such forms as the Bay-winged Sparrow, Field Sparrow, Grasshopper Sparrow, Meadow Lark, meadow mice, garter snakes, green snakes, bumble bees and grasshoppers—species peculiar to such surroundings. Some parts of this land were wet, and where the drain-

age was poorest, became swamps and sloughs. There, forms which love such places, came. Among them Marsh Wrens, Swamp Sparrows and Red-winged Blackbirds, salamanders, frogs, water snakes, aquatic insects and marsh plants. As the orchard and garden developed, birds well known to us and greatly beloved for their cheery social ways, there made their home and lived upon food brought to the locality by the changing conditions. The number of settlers increased, causing a steady diminution in the numbers of all the larger mammals, especially those used for food, or valuable for fur; of geese, ducks and other water loving birds. The early settlers had brought with them the Black Rat. Later another form, the Brown Rat, which, like the first, was a native of the old world, appeared, following the routes of civilization. It drove out the other rat and has since occupied its place. The shy Gray Fox disappeared in advance of the incoming pioneer, and the Red Fox occupied the field left vacant. The hog, a most valuable factor in the development of the West, proved equally valuable as an ally in the warfare against snakes. Largely, through its efforts, were the rattlesnakes and copperheads destroyed.

"Removing the timber and breaking the ground began to show its effect upon springs and water courses. Many became dry during the warm season. All life, be it salamanders, fishes, mollusks, insects or plants, that found therein a home, died. As time went on drainage became a feature introduced into the new country. With the draining of our sloughs and swamps other changes came. The birds that lived among their reeds and flags, mingled their voices with those of the frogs, disappeared, and the land reclaimed tells, in its luxuriant growth of corn, no story to the casual passer-by of the former population which occupied it.

"And so it was. Change succeeded change. Little by little, but still each cleared field, each drained swamp, each rotation of crops, each one of a thousand variations in cause had its effect upon the numbers and life histories of our plants and animals.

"When the Indians left, the prairies were no longer annually burned over. Forest vegetation began to seize upon this open land, and in time much of it became reforested. Into it was brought life from the surrounding woods, and the former occupants were driven out.

"Some of the native forms of life have, in some respects, changed their habits. This is evidenced by the Rose-breasted Grosbeak feeding upon the Colorado Potato Beetle; the destruction in the rice fields of South Carolina caused by the Rice birds—our Bobolink; the loss inflicted in the rice swamps of Louisiana by the Red-winged Blackbird; the damage done to the western corn grower by the Bronzed Grackle—our common Blackbird. By man's agency the European House Sparrow, or 'English Sparrow,' was introduced, and, as its numbers increased, it began to assert itself in the struggle for existence. The Bluebird which had come from the hole in the snag, was driven from her box. The Martin which, like the Chimney Swift, formerly nested in hollow trees, left its nesting sites about the house, and even the Eave Swallow, which, in olden times, fastened its nest to the cliffs, was in some cases, driven away. The warfare with this aggressive little foreigner still continues, worse in some places than others. But it has such surprising powers of reproduction, and such unheard of audacity, it seems they must soon cover our entire continent. The history of the German Carp in this country illustrates the same persistent and successful struggle for the mastery in our water ways, that has been noted of the House Sparrow on the land."

## CHAPTER VII.

### ORDINANCE OF 1787—SLAVERY.

Virginia, through the capture by Gen. George Rogers Clark, of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, laid claim to all the territory northwest of the Ohio River, it being the same territory that had been ceded to Great Britain by France, in the treaty of 1763. New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut laid claims to parts of the same territory by operation of some remote royal charters. Soon after the close of the Revolutionary War propositions were made to cede to the General Government all this vast territory, together with much which lies south of the Ohio River. North Carolina laid claim to much of the territory south of the Ohio. Mr. Jefferson and other distinguished Virginians were very urgent that the cession should be made, but Virginia, as well as the other colonies, held back for various reasons. Mr. Jefferson urged the matter again and-again, especially as Kentucky had begun clamoring for home rule. The same spirit for home rule was rife in Tennessee, and culminated in 1785 in the organization of the independent State of Franklin. The General Government was anxious to get possession of the territory, that through the sale of the lands it might be able to realize the means whereby to discharge the great debt incurred in the struggle for independence. Maryland refused to join in the Articles of



Confederation until some satisfactory agreement as to the western land was reached. In 1781 Virginia signified her willingness to make the cession of the lands northwest of the Ohio, when Congress should agree to the terms proposed by her. Finally, in 1784 the following deed of cession was made:

“To all whom shall see these presents: We, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, the underwritten delegates for the Commonwealth of Virginia, in the Congress of the United States of America, send greeting:

“Whereas, The General Assembly of the commonwealth of Virginia, at their session begun on the 20th of October, 1783, passed an act entitled ‘an act to authorize the delegates of this State in Congress to convey to the United States, in Congress assembled, all the right of this commonwealth to the territory northwestward of the river Ohio’ in these words, to wit:

“Whereas, The Congress of the United States did, by their act of the 6th day of September in the year 1780, recommend to the several States of the Union, having claims to waste and unappropriated lands in the western country, a liberal cession to the United States of a portion of their respective claims for the benefit of the Union; and whereas, this commonwealth did, on the 2d day of January, in the year 1781, yield to the Congress of the United States, for the benefit of the said States, all right, title and claim which the said commonwealth had to the territory northwest of the river Ohio, subject to the conditions annexed to the said act of cession; and whereas, the United States, in Congress assembled, have by their act of the 13th of September last, stipulated the terms on which they agree to

accept the cession of this state, should the legislature approve thereof, which terms, although they do not come fully up to the propositions of this commonwealth, are conceived in the whole to approach so nearly to them as to induce this state to accept thereof, in full confidence that Congress will, in justice to this state, for the liberal cession she hath made, earnestly press upon the other states claiming large tracts of waste and uncultivated territory, the propriety of making cessions equally liberal for the common benefit and support of the Union; be it enacted by the General Assembly, that it shall and may be lawful for the delegates of this state to the Congress of the United States, or such of them as shall be assembled in Congress, and the said delegates, or such of them so assembled, are hereby fully authorized and empowered, for and on behalf of this state, by proper deed or instruments in writing, under their hands and seals, to convey, transfer, assign and make over unto the United States in Congress assembled, for the benefit of the said states, all right, title and claim, as well of soil as jurisdiction, which this commonwealth hath to the territory or tract of country within the limits of the Virginia charter, situate, lying and being to the northwest of the river Ohio, and subject to the terms and conditions contained in the before recited act of Congress of the 13th day of September last; that is to say, upon condition that the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into states, containing a suitable extent of territory, not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit; and that the states so formed shall be distinct republican states and admitted members of the Federal Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states; that the necessary and reason-

able expenses incurred by this state in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts or garrisons within, and for the defense or in acquiring any part of the territory so ceded or relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the United States; and that one commissioner shall be appointed by Congress, one by this commonwealth, and another by those two commissioners, who, or a majority of them, shall be authorized and empowered to adjust and liquidate the account of the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by this state, which they shall judge to be comprised within the intent and meaning of the act of Congress of the 10th of October, 1780, respecting such expenses, that the French and Canadian inhabitants, and the other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincent's and other neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties; that a quantity, not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by this state, shall be allowed and granted to then Colonel, now General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and St. Vincent's were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that have been since incorporated into the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio as a majority of the officers shall choose, and to be afterwards divided among the said officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia; that in case the quantity of good lands on the southeast side of the Ohio, upon the waters of the Cumberland river, and between the Green river and Tennessee river, which have been reserved by law

for the Virginia troops upon continental establishment, should from the North Carolina line bearing in further upon the Cumberland than was expected, prove insufficient for their legal bounties, the deficiency should be made up to the said troops in good lands, to be laid off between the rivers Scioto and Little Miami, on the northwest side of the river Ohio, in such proportions as have been engaged to them by the laws of Virginia; that all the lands within the territory so ceded to the United States, and not reserved for or appropriated to any of the before mentioned purposes, or disposed of in bounties to the officers and soldiers of the American army, shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become or shall become members of the confederation or federal alliance of said states, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no other purpose whatsoever; Provided that the trust hereby reposed in the delegates of this state shall not be executed, unless three of them at least are present in Congress.

“And, whereas, the said General Assembly, by their resolution of June 6th, 1783, had constituted us, the said Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, delegates to represent the said commonwealth in Congress for one year from the first Monday in November then next following, which resolution remains in full force:

“Now, therefore, know ye that we, the said Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, by virtue of the power and authority committed to us by the act of the said General Assembly of Virginia, before recited, and in the name, and for and on behalf of the said common-

wealth, do, by these presents, convey, transfer, assign and make over unto the United States, in Congress assembled, for the benefit of the said states, Virginia inclusive, all right, title and claim, as well of soil as of jurisdiction, which the said commonwealth hath to the territory or tract of country within the limits of the Virginia charter, situate, lying and being to the northwest of the river Ohio, to and for the uses and purposes, and on the conditions of the said recited act. In testimony whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names and affixed our seals in Congress, the first day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1784, and of the independence of the United States the eighth."

The States of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut respectively claimed, by virtue of ancient royal charters, large territories lying west of the river Ohio, and northwest of the western boundary of Pennsylvania. These claims were transferred to the United States, Connecticut reserving a tract which was called the "Western Reserve." The jurisdictional claim of Connecticut to this tract was surrendered to the United States on the 30th of May, 1800. Thus the United States obtained the jurisdiction over the Northwest Territory, and of the lands, subject to the proprietary rights of the Indians. When Congress assumed the jurisdiction there was no established government anywhere in the territory. The French commandants of the posts had administered laws dictated by France, and when the British got possession they proclaimed the Common Law of England to be in force, and Virginia had extended her laws, but there were no courts to enforce any of them. The question of forming some kind of a government at once attracted the attention of Congress.

A report was made to Congress providing for the for-

mation out of the new territory of ten States. The region west of Lake Michigan and north of parallel 45 was to be known as the State of Silvania; the lower peninsula of Michigan north of parallel 43 as Chersonesus; that part of Wisconsin between parallels 43 and 45 as Michigania; between parallels 41 and 43 the eastern state as Metropotamia; and the western as Assenisipia; between parallels 39 and 41, the eastern as Saratoga and the western as Illinois; between parallel 39 and the Ohio, the eastern state as Pelisipia and the western as Polypotamia; and the territory east of a meridian line drawn through the mouth of the Great Kanawha as Washington. By this proposition Indiana would have been divided among six of the States. No action was ever taken on this report.

From the time of the cession until 1787 there had been no organized control over the Northwestern territory. The people had been left to struggle along as best they could. Several companies had been organized in the east for the purpose of settling and colonizing this territory, and propositions had been made to Congress for the purchase of large tracts of land, but none of them had ever fully materialized. On April 23, 1787, a committee consisting of Mr. Johnson, of Connecticut, Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina, Mr. Smith of New York, Mr. Dane of Massachusetts, and Mr. Henry of Maryland, reported an ordinance for the government of the Western territory. It was discussed from time to time and greatly amended. Finally on the 13th of July it passed Congress. This great ordinance which laid the foundation of freedom in the rich States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois Michigan and Wisconsin, is as follows:

“Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of tempo-

rary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

"Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates of both resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory dying intestate shall descend to and be distributed among their children and the descendants of a deceased child in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child, or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them; and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have in equal parts among them their deceased parent's share; and there shall in no case be a distinction between the kindred of the whole and half blood; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and one third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estate may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may

be transferred by delivery, saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincent's and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

"Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed from time to time by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

"There shall be appointed from time to time by Congress a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings every six months to the secretary of Congress. There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in five hundred acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

"The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them



to Congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterward the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

"The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

"Previous to the organization of the General Assembly the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the General Assembly shall be organized the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said Assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

"For the prevention of crime and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles have been extinguished into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

"So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or town-

ships, to represent them in the General Assembly; provided that, for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five, after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature; provided that no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district for three years, and in either case shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same; provided, also, that a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

"The representatives thus elected shall serve for the term of two years, and in the case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

"The General Assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress, any three of whom to be a quorum, and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to-wit: As soon as the representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place

for them to meet together, and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents of the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified, as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term; and every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of the council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress, five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council for five years unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council and house of representatives shall have authority to make laws, in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill or legislative act whatever shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue and dissolve the General Assembly, when in his opinion it shall be expedient.

“The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the governor before the president of Congress, and all the other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled

in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

“And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish these principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide also for the establishment of states and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original states, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

“It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact, between the original states and the people and the states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to-wit:

“Art. 1.—No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

“Art. 2.—The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offenses, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate, and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or prop-

erty, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made or have force in the said territory that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide and without fraud, previously formed.

"Art. 3.—Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

"Art. 4.—The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States, in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of the government, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure, by which

apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states; and the taxes for paying their proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts or new states, as in the original states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts or new states shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same shall be common highways and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty therefor.

“Art. 5.—There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five states, and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to-wit: The western state in the said territory shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle state shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash, from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the great Miami to the

said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: provided, however, and be it further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall find it hereafter expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such States shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government; provided, the constitution and government, so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles, and, so far as can be consistent with the general interests of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

“Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.”

It was this Ordinance that excluded slavery from all the territory northwest of the Ohio, and, in reality, laid the first

provision for the grand free school system which is now the glory of the various States carved out of the territory. For many years there was a dispute as to who was the real author of this ordinance. It is now settled beyond question that it was actually drawn up by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts. Like the Declaration of Independence, it might have been the result of the conceptions of several men, but it was Dane that gave expression to it in words. When brought up for final consideration, the ordinance did not contain the clause prohibiting slavery, but while under consideration, and shortly before the vote was taken, Mr. Dane offered the amendment excluding slavery, which was agreed to with hardly a protest.

While prohibiting the existence of slavery in the Territory, slavery did not end upon its adoption, but actually continued long after Indiana became a State, slaves having been held as late as 1830. When the colonies offered to cede this territory to the general government, in the Articles of Compact, a clause had been introduced for making slavery unlawful after the year 1800, but it had met with considerable opposition. Jefferson and other leaders of the South strongly favored the clause, Jefferson even going so far as to favor striking out the limitation, and it is generally conceded that he had as much to do with shaping the sentiment which finally made the prohibitory clause a part of the Ordinance as any other man, although in 1787, when it was finally enacted, he was out of the country.

Slavery had been introduced into Indiana soon after its first settlement by the French, the slaves first being brought up the river from New Orleans. The Indians were not long in discovering that negroes were more valuable alive than dead. They would kill white captives, sometimes for the



price offered for the scalps, and sometimes to satisfy their own thirst for blood, but they early found out that a live negro would sell to the French for more money than they could get for his scalp. Some Indians were also reduced to slavery, but only few such were ever known in Indiana. The French King several times undertook to interfere to prevent slavery in the French colonies, but was induced to give way, under the plea that slavery would bring the negroes under the influence of the church, and therefore servitude would be good for their souls.

In 1800 there were 175 slaves in Indiana, they were mostly about Vincennes and on the Wabash, but a few were in Randolph County. In emigrating to the West, those who desired to retain their slaves generally stopped in Kentucky, but now and then one would stray over into Indiana, bringing his slaves with him. Before the organization of the Territorial Government the friends of slavery began to petition Congress to repeal the clause of the Article of Compact forbidding slavery. In 1802, Governor Harrison expressed a willingness to call a convention of the people to consider the expediency of the admission of slavery into the Territory, and on November 22 did issue a proclamation for the convention. It directed that an election should be held on December 11, for the selection of delegates. The convention memorialized Congress, asking that the prohibitory clause be suspended for ten years. John Randolph, of Virginia, from the committee to whom the memorial was referred, reported against it, using the following language: "The rapidly increasing population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region; \* \* \* that the committee

deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the Northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and immigration."

The matter was not finally disposed of at that time, and in 1804 was referred to another committee, which reported favorably under certain provisos. It was never acted on.

The advocates of slavery, to escape this obnoxious provision of the Ordinance, secured the passage of a law regulating "servants." It provided that a person coming into the Territory, under contract to serve another, should be compelled to perform such contract specifically. The obvious intention of this law was to produce a legal relation of master and slave. Another plan was devised to escape from the effects of the Ordinance. This resulted in a petition from the Illinois counties to be added to the Territory of Louisiana. Among the first acts passed by the Territorial Legislature was one to provide for the introduction of slavery by indenture. It provided that any slave holder, of any of the States or Territories of the Union, might bring a slave over fifteen years of age into Indiana; and within thirty days might enter into an agreement with such slave as to the number of years the slave would serve his owner. Slaves under fifteen years might be brought in and held, the males until the age of thirty-five, and the females until thirty-two. The children born under indenture were to serve the master of the mother, the males until thirty years of age, and the females until twenty-eight. The pas-

sage of this act created intense feeling throughout the Territory, especially in the eastern part. In 1805 the Legislature again petitioned Congress for the introduction of slaves.

In 1806 the Legislature once more took up the question of slavery, and petitioned Congress to suspend the prohibitory clause of the Ordinance. Laws were also enacted regulating the conduct of slaves, all tending toward tightening the chain on the negro. In 1808 the opponents of slavery began to wake up in earnest, and petition after petition was fired in on the Legislature protesting against slavery. So strong was this feeling of opposition that a bill to repeal the indenture law passed the House by a unanimous vote, but was defeated in the Council. In 1809 the slavery question for the first time actively entered into politics. It was the first time that a delegate to Congress was to be elected by the people. Thomas Randolph and John Johnson announced themselves as candidates. Randolph had formerly been one of the active pro-slavery men of the Territory, but had changed his views when he found the feeling so strongly against that institution. Johnson attempted to dodge the question by ignoring it. Neither of those gentlemen were satisfactory to the slavery opponents. Among the rising young men of the State was one Jonathan Jennings, bold, active, and ambitious. He had already made himself known as a speaker of more than ordinary ability. He was living in Clark County, the seat of the anti-slavery feeling. Some days after the proclamation calling for an election, Jennings, while visiting a friend, was asked to "look us up a good candidate for Congress." Jennings turned and quickly said, "Why wouldn't I do?" The thought struck his friend favorably, and Jennings was soon on his way through the

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eastern settlements using as his campaign cry, "No slavery in Indiana."

The campaign was of the red-hot order, charges and counter-charges were freely made and denied. Jennings proved a thorough campaigner. He made speeches, attended log rollings, assisted at house raisings, and made himself generally popular. Governor Harrison had been one of the staunchest friends of slavery, and had used all his influence against Jennings, but when the vote was counted out it was found that Jennings had triumphed. This was a terrible disappointment to Governor Harrison and the advocates of slavery, they having failed to recognize the trend of public sentiment. The people of Knox County remained steadfast to their traditions and favored slavery, but the southern and eastern parts of the Territory had grown more rapidly than had Knox County. The eastern sections especially were settling up with Quakers from North Carolina, who had left that State because of their dislike to human bondage, and they brought with them into the new Territory the feelings which afterwards ripened into active abolitionism.

It might have been thought that this emphatic pronouncement of the people would have ended the agitation, but it did not. The friends of slavery were active and in earnest, and declined to give up the fight. At the session of the Legislature in 1810, a bill was promptly introduced to repeal the indenture law. It passed the House without difficulty, but in the Council the vote was a tie. James Baggs, the President of the Council, voted for its passage, and the Governor, seeing that further struggle would be useless, approved the new law. Under the indenture law the number of slaves in Indiana had increased from 28 to 237. The year

1811 witnessed another bitter struggle over the election of a delegate to Congress. Jennings was again the candidate of the anti-slavery people, while Randolph represented the pro-slavery element. The contest was more exciting and more bitterly fought out than that of 1809. The campaign really began in 1810, when Jennings was required to be absent from the Territory a good part of the time, in attendance on the session of Congress, but his friends kept up the fight for him. Randolph and his friends endeavored to dodge the slavery question, but Jennings would not permit it. Jennings was again triumphantly elected. Randolph was killed at the Battle of Tippecanoe, while Jennings lived to become the first Governor of the State of Indiana, and afterward a member of Congress from the new State.

In 1814, when the people of the Territory began to look forward to becoming a State in the Union, a memorial was presented to Congress by Mr. Jennings, asking that the Territory might be admitted as a State, and declaring that the people were attached to the fundamental principles set forth in the Ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Territory, particularly as respected personal freedom and involuntary servitude, and they hoped they might be continued as the basis of a State constitution. A bill on those lines was reported by Mr. Jennings, and became a law.

At the election for delegates to the convention to frame a constitution the opponents of slavery succeeded in electing a majority of them. The friends of slavery early saw their defeat, and they began to agitate a proposition to abandon the project of forming a State government, on the ground of the increased expense it would entail upon the people. But it was too late for any such proposition to be entertained. Soon after the convention organized it came to

a vote on the slavery question. It was while considering the article providing for amendments to the constitution then about to be made. The question came up again in a more decided and emphatic form on the report of the Committee on General Provisions. This committee reported a very long section with a great many provisos in it, but after due consideration, and considerable discussion the report was amended into the form in which it was finally adopted.

In the eastern Counties it was generally considered that the adoption of the Constitution was operative at once, and that all slaves were unconditionally emancipated by it, and those who owned slaves at once gave them their freedom. In the western Counties, however, a different opinion prevailed. It was there held that the property in slaves was a vested right, secured by the Ordinance, and could not be impaired. Some of the slave holders in those Counties removed their slaves from Indiana into Southern States, but in most cases such slaves were afterwards released by the courts. In 1817 two slaves held in Orange County brought suit for their freedom, but did not succeed until after a contest before the courts lasting five years. In the western Counties slaves were openly held, and as late as 1820 there still remained in Indiana 190 slaves. It was not until 1830 that the slavery question was brought to an end, so far as the legal right to hold a slave was concerned, but the national census of 1840 disclosed the fact that there were still three slaves in Indiana.

## CHAPTER VIII.

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### ORGANIZATION OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

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After the adoption by Congress of the Ordinance of 1787 it became necessary to organize some kind of government for the newly acquired territory. The laws of Virginia had been extended over a portion of the territory by the arbitrary acts of General George Rogers Clark. Around Vincennes and Kaskaskia the laws that had been made by the French Governors, and the Common Law of England, which had followed the British occupation, were also in force. There were no Courts and it was necessary, for the good of society, that such be established; and for the protection of the frontier it was necessary that some one be clothed with adequate authority. The seat of the General Government was too far away to furnish the needed protection to the exposed frontiers. On the 5th of October, 1787, Major-General Arthur St. Clair was elected by Congress Governor of the Territory northwest of the Ohio River. St. Clair was a Scotchman by birth and had served in the British army during the French war, carrying a standard at the storming of Quebec by General Wolfe. He served with the American forces in the Revolutionary War, with great distinction.

Among his instructions was one to neglect no opportunity that might offer of extinguishing the Indian rights to lands as far west as the Mississippi River and as far north-

ward as the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude. He was also instructed to use every effort to conciliate the various Indian tribes. In the month of July, 1788, Governor St. Clair arrived at Marietta, on the Ohio River, where he established the seat of government. Together with the general court, composed of three men, he adopted and published a number of laws, civil and criminal. Among the penalties for some of the minor offenses were whipping and standing in the pillory. Among the other provisions may be found the following:

"Whereas, idle, vain and obscene conversation, profane cursing and swearing, and more especially the irreverently mentioning, calling upon, or invoking the Sacred and Supreme Being, by any of the divine characters in which He has graciously condescended to reveal His infinitely beneficent purposes to mankind, are repugnant to every moral sentiment, subversive of every civil obligation, inconsistent with the ornaments of polished life, and abhorrent to the principles of the most benevolent religion: It is expected, therefore, if crimes of this kind should exist, they will not find encouragement, countenance, or approbation in this Territory." It was enjoined upon officers, parents, heads of families, and others of every description to abstain from such practices. It was also declared that the government would consider as unworthy its confidence all those who obstinantly violated these injunctions.

Among the other provisions the following is found: "Whereas, mankind in every stage of informed society, has consecrated certain portions of time to the particular cultivation of the social virtues, and the public adoration and worship of the common Parent of the Universe; and whereas, a practice so rational in itself, and conformable to the



divine precepts is greatly conducive to civilization as well as morality and piety; and whereas, for the advancement of such important and interesting purposes, most of the Christian world have set apart the first day of the week as a day of rest from common labors and pursuits; it is therefore enjoined that all servile labor, works of necessity and charity only excepted, be wholly abstained from on said day." By these two citations from the earliest American laws for this great section of the country, it will be seen that the governing power was disposed to look after the moral welfare of the people, and to acknowledge a common obligation to God.

On the 9th of January, 1789, Governor St. Clair made a treaty with a number of the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, and also with some of the other tribes, or rather with the individual warriors of those tribes. The Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawattamie and Sac tribes refused to be bound by the treaties, and soon began a series of marauding expeditions along the frontiers of Virginia and Kentucky. These expeditions and their results are more specifically noticed in another chapter.

In October, 1789, President Washington addressed a series of instructions to Governor St. Clair, and called his attention to the orders of Congress relative to the settlement of the question of titles held by the settlers at Vincennes and Kaskaskia to the lands they occupied. The President in his letter said: "It is a circumstance of some importance that the said inhabitants, should, as soon as possible, possess the lands to which they are entitled, by some fixed principles." This question of land titles was already beginning to breed trouble and discontent. At the first settlement of the French at Vincennes the Piankashaw Indians, had granted

to the French a large body of land for the use of the Post. The French commandants, under the authority of the King, had made grants to individuals to some of these lands, and this custom had been followed by both British and American commandants. When the territory was ceded by France to the British, at the close of the great war, the British officers held that the original grant had been made by the Indians to the French crown, and not to the Post itself, or the people thereof, and took possession of all the land, that had not been formally conveyed to individual settlers, in the name of the King of England.

General Gage, the English Commander-in-Chief, demanded that the settlers should prove up their claims, but as records were loosely kept in those days, and most of them had been destroyed, many of the titles could not be established. When General Clark captured the Post, the men he left in charge made grants with a liberal hand, especially to themselves. The matter came before Congress in 1788 and a resolution was passed confirming in their possessions and titles the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers about Kaskaskia and Vincennes who, on or before the year 1783, had professed allegiance to the United States, or to any of them. By the same resolution a tract of four hundred acres of land was granted to each head of a family of this description of settlers.

To comply with this duty, and to further perfect the civil organization of the territory, early in 1790 Governor St. Clair, with the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory, proceeded to Fort Washington, where Cincinnati now stands, and organized the County of Hamilton, appointing the necessary officers. The Governor and Secretary of the Territory then went to Clarksville, and from there to the

Illinois country. On his arrival at Kaskaskia the Governor laid out the County of St. Clair, and directed the inhabitants to exhibit to him their titles to the lands they held, and he confirmed them in their holdings, and ordered the necessary surveys to be made. Governor St. Clair returned to Fort Washington, but Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, proceeded to Vincennes and organized the County of Knox, and began the work of examining and establishing land titles.

Under the Ordinance of 1787 it was provided that when the Territory should contain five thousand free inhabitants of full age, the people should have the right to take what was termed the second step in Territorial government, that is, should elect a legislature of their own. The people could elect the members of the House, or Assembly, and the House, when organized, could send to the President the names of ten persons, from which list the President would name five to act as the Council or upper body of the Legislature. The Territory remained under its first form of government until 1798 when Governor St. Clair issued his proclamation calling for the election of representatives to the General Assembly. This proclamation was issued on the 29th day of October. Prior to that, Winthrop Sargent, who had been the Secretary of the Territory from its first organization, was appointed, in May, 1797, Governor of the Territory of Mississippi, and General William Henry Harrison was named as Secretary of the Northwest Territory. The election for Representatives was held on the third Monday of December, and the General Assembly was ordered to convene at Cincinnati on the 22d day of January, 1799. The seat of government had been removed from Marietta to Cincinnati some time previously. Ten names for the Council

were sent to President Adams and the Assembly was prorogued until the 16th of September following. The two Houses met in September, but were not formally organized until the twenty-fourth. Henry Vanderburgh was elected President of the Council.

On the twenty-fifth of September Governor St. Clair addressed the Territorial Legislature, and after calling the attention of that body to various subjects, closed as follows: "The providing for, and the regulating the lives and morals of the present and of the rising generation, for the repression of vice and immorality, and for the protection of virtue and innocence, for the security of property and the punishment of crime is a sublime employment. Every aid in my power will be afforded, and I hope we shall bear in mind that the character and deportment of the people and their happiness, both here and hereafter, depend very much upon the spirit and genius of their laws." The sound doctrine set forth by Governor St. Clair seems to have met with a hearty response from the infantile Legislature, for among the first laws enacted was one designed to prevent Sabbath breaking, profane swearing, drunkenness, duelling, cock fighting, running horses on the public highways, and gambling at billiards, cards, dice, shovel board, etc. Later Legislatures have forgotten much of the sound teachings of the fathers in this respect, as also on the subject of levying taxes. The first tax law for the Northwest Territory provided that land owners should pay for every one hundred acres of first-rate land, eighty-five cents; for every hundred acres of second-rate land, sixty cents; for every hundred acres of third-rate land, twenty-five cents; and so on, in proportion for a greater or less quantity of land. The whipping post and pillory were established.

One of the duties of the Territorial Legislature was the election of a delegate to Congress. A very spirited contest arose over this matter, the two candidates being William Henry Harrison, Secretary of the Territory, and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., a son of Governor St. Clair. Harrison was the winner, the vote standing eleven for him to ten for St. Clair. Quite a number of laws were passed and the Territory was fairly started on its second stage of political existence. The election of Mr. Harrison to Congress made a vacancy in the office of Secretary, which was filled by the appointment of Charles Willing Boyd, by the President. The Territory had hardly got started on its course of legislating for itself, when it was divided by an act of Congress, approved on the 7th day of May, 1800. The act declared, "that from and after the fourth day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio opposite to the mouth of Kentucky River and running thence to Fort Recovery and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory."

By this act the people of Indiana were relegated to the first form of territorial government, the power of enacting laws being in the hands of the Governor and Judges, but they were still invested with all the rights, privileges and advantages granted and secured by the Ordinance of 1787. The seat of government for Indiana Territory was fixed at Vincennes, and William Henry Harrison was appointed Governor, and John Gibson, of Pennsylvania, was appointed Secretary. Gibson was the man to whom the celebrated Indian chief, Logan, made his famous speech. William Clark,

Henry Vanderburgh and John Griffin were appointed territorial Judges. At the time of this new organization the civilized population of the Territory was estimated at four thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

Governor Harrison could not at once enter upon the discharge of his duties, but Secretary Gibson reached Vincennes in July, 1800, and became acting Governor in the absence of General Harrison. In January, 1801, Governor Harrison reached Vincennes and assumed his duties, calling a meeting of the Judges for the purpose of framing the necessary laws for the government of the Territory. They promptly met and enacted several laws. The Territorial Judges, William Clark, Henry Vanderburgh and John Griffin, opened the first session of the general court of Indiana Territory on the 3d of March, 1801. The first grand jury that ever assembled in Indiana consisted of Luke Decker, Antoine Marshal, Joseph Baird, Patrick Simpson, Antoine Petit, Andre Montplaiseur, John Ockiltree, Jonathan Marney, Jacob Tevebaugh, Alexander Vadney, Francois Turpin, Fr. Compagnoitte, Charles Languedoc, Louis Severa, Fr. Languedoc, Geo. Catt, John Bt. Barrios, Abraham Decker and Philip Catt. The list shows that the inhabitants were mainly French or of French extraction.

In March, 1805, Congress attached to Indiana, all that part of Louisiana, which was situated west of the Mississippi River and north of the thirty-third degree north latitude, under the name of the "District of Louisiana, but the following year it was organized into a separate Territory. In 1804 an election had been held to determine whether the people of Indiana desired to enter upon the second stage of territorial government, and it having been decided in the affirmative, Governor Harrison issued a proclamation for an

election of members of the Assembly to take place on January 3, 1805. The Assembly met at Vincennes on the 1st of February and selected ten names for the President to choose a Council from. In January, a few days only after the election, Congress divided the Territory again and organized the Territory of Michigan.

The first General Assembly of Indiana met at Vincennes on the 29th day of July, 1805. The message of Governor Harrison called attention to many important matters, especially to the necessity of doing something to stop the sale of liquor to the Indians. As a rule the Indians were peaceable enough when sober, but when drunk were very dangerous. The Indians would barter their arms, clothing, and any other property for liquor, and then starve their women and children. At this session Benjamin Parke was elected delegate to Congress. Benjamin Parke was a native of New Jersey, and came to Indiana in 1801, settling at Vincennes. Soon after his arrival he was appointed Attorney General of the Territory. He served as a delegate in Congress until he was appointed by President Jefferson a Territorial Judge. He was a member of the convention that framed the first constitution of the State, and on the admission of Indiana into the Union, President Madison appointed him United States Judge, which position he held until his death. He took a prominent part in the battle of Tippecanoe. While acting as Territorial Judge his courts were scattered in various parts of the State and all the traveling had to be done on horseback, through the woods and oftentimes across streams that were not fordable. It is said of him that he never missed a court. His home was at Vincennes and on one occasion he traveled from Vincennes down to the Ohio River, then up to Lawrenceburg and across to Wayne

County to hold court, when there was but one case upon the docket, and that of a young man charged with stealing a pocket-knife worth twenty-five cents.

In company with two other men he entered upon the banking business at Vincennes. This proved to be an unfortunate venture upon his part. The bank broke and left Mr. Parke a bankrupt, but he set himself at work, and before his death had cleared off the entire indebtedness. During his life Benjamin Parke stood as one of the foremost men in Indiana.

The question of another division of the Indiana Territory into two parts, was pressed upon the attention of Congress by legislative memorials and petitions, in the years 1806, 1807 and 1808. The principal reasons which were assigned in favor of such a division were based upon the wide extent of wilderness country which separated the civilized population of the Territory; the dangers and the expenses which were imposed upon parties and witnesses who were compelled to attend the courts, and the difficulties which prevented or obstructed the administration of the laws at settlements remote from the seat of Government. In 1809 Congress divided the territory providing that all that part of the Indiana Territory lying "west of the Wabash River, and a direct line drawn from the said Wabash River and Post Vincennes, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada," should constitute the Territory of Illinois. By this act Indiana was reduced to its present size. In 1808 the white population of Indiana Territory was about twenty-eight thousand, of which eleven thousand lived west of the Wabash in what became the Territory of Illinois.

On the appointment of Benjamin Parke to a seat on the



judiciary of the Territory the Legislature elected Jesse B. Thomas delegate to Congress. Owing to a doubt arising as to the legality of the election under which the Legislature was chosen, it was dissolved by General Harrison.

The division of Indiana Territory, in 1809, and the formation of Illinois Territory, caused a hitch in legislative matters that for some time left everything in a bad tangle. This division had been petitioned for on several occasions, and on the 3d of February, 1809, the act making the division passed Congress. It provided that on and after the 1st day of March, 1809, all that part of the Territory lying west of the Wabash River, and a line running due north from Vincennes, should constitute the Territory of Illinois. The same act extended the right of suffrage, and gave to the Legislature the right to district the Territory for legislative purposes, and also provided that the House of Representatives should consist of not less than nine members. Information of the passage of this act reached the Governor, but it is evident he was not informed of all its provisions, for a short time before the receipt of a copy of the act, he issued his proclamation for an election to be held on the 22d day of May, and he fixed the number of members of the House to be elected, at eight, one less than the minimum number prescribed by the act. He also called for the election of a Congressional delegate at the same time. When the full text of the act of Congress was received, he permitted the election to take place. No motive for this has ever been discovered, but it is probable he desired to get the voice of the people on the introduction of slavery, as that was the issue then being fought out between the candidates for delegate to Congress. The election took place and the members chosen to the Legislature met, pursuant to the call of the

Governor, in October. At once doubts arose as to whether it was a legal body, and after several days wrangling the following memorial to Congress was adopted:

"Your petitioners state that, in the year 1805, there was a Legislature organized under a law dividing the territory northwest of the Ohio River; that, on the 26th day of October, 1808, the Governor dissolved the said legislature. On the 3d of February, 1809, the law of congress passed, dividing the Indiana territory; and that on the 4th day of April, 1809, the governor of the territory issued his proclamation for the election of the additional members of the house of representatives. Also, on the 27th of February, 1809, the law passed extending the right of suffrage to the citizens of Indiana, and declaring how the legislature shall be formed after the passage of said law; that is, the general assembly should apportion the members of the house of representatives, to consist of not less than nine nor more than twelve. This law was evidently predicated upon the principle that a legislature was in existence at the time of its passage, or that a legislature might be convened under the authority of the governor's proclamation; but the fact was different, for the old legislature was doubly dissolved (if this expression may be allowed); first, by the governor, as above stated; secondly, by the division of the territory, which struck off three members of the house of representatives, and two of the legislative council. Thus, there was no legislature in being to make the apportionment agreeably to the said act of congress. Now, the principal doubt that exists in the minds of your petitioners is, how the legislature [is] to be brought into being, so as to organize the new legislature under the act of congress as above stated. On the first Monday of April, 1809, the governor, by his proclamation, directed that

an election be held for members of the house of representatives, at which election there were four members elected—to-wit: two in the county of Knox; one in the county of Dearborn; and one in the county of Clark. On the 4th of April, 1809, (six days before the above law of congress arrived here,) the Governor issued his writs of election, for an election to be held on the 22d of May, for five councillors and four more representatives, having himself made the apportionment. He gave an additional member to the county of Knox; one to the county of Dearborn; one to the county of Clark; and one to the new county of Harrison—making, in the whole, only eight members in the house of representatives. Under these dubious circumstances, the governor issued his proclamation, convening, on the 16th of the present month, the members of the legislative council, elected as above stated; and the members elected as aforesaid to serve in the house of representatives. Agreeably to the aforesaid proclamation, the legislative council and the members elected to the house of representatives convened; and the minority of the house of representatives, not conceiving themselves authorized to go on to legislative business, the legislature agreed to postpone doing any business, in a legislative capacity, except apportioning an additional member to make up the number, nine, agreeably to the said act of congress, extending the right of suffrage to the citizens of this territory. From this view of the subject, your petitioners humbly pray, that a law may be passed legalizing the above apportionment; so that a legislature may be organized under the present law of congress, extending the right of suffrage to Indiana, so soon as the governor of this territory may be officially informed of the same. Or, if congress doubt of their authority to legalize the above proceedings,

on the ground of the laws having an ex post facto operation, then to pass a law authorizing, expressly, the governor to organize a legislature upon any plan which, to them, may seem proper."

On the same day the Legislature petitioned the Governor to dissolve the General Assembly to await the action of Congress, which was done, the Governor, however, holding that the Legislature had been legally elected. When the matter was brought to the attention of Congress through the petition recited, it held the election illegal, and authorized the Governor to apportion the Territory and order a new election.

In 1810 the first complete census of Indiana was taken. According to it the population amounted to 24,520. There were in the Territory thirty-three grist mills, fourteen saw mills, eighteen tanneries, twenty-eight distilleries, three powder mills, 1,256 looms, and 1,350 spinning wheels. The value of Indiana manufactures was estimated as follows: Woolen, cotton, hempen and flaxen cloths and mixtures, \$159,052. Cotton and wool, spun in mills, \$150; nails, \$4,000; leather tanned, \$9,300, products of distilleries, \$16,230; gun powder, \$1,800; wine, \$6,000. There was also manufactured in the State 50,000 pounds of maple sugar.

At the session of the Legislature in 1810 a petition was sent to Congress asking for permission to locate a certain quantity of lands lying on the main fork of White River for a permanent seat of government. William Prince, John Hadden, James Smith, Harvey Heth, Davis Floyd, William McFarland, Benjamin McCartey, Richard Maxwell, and Elijah Sparks, were appointed commissioners for the purpose of selecting a new site for the seat of government of Indiana.

At that time nothing came of the petition, and in 1813 the Legislature removed the seat of government from Vincennes to Corydon. In February of that year President Madison nominated for Governor of the Territory Thomas Posey, General Harrison having been made Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces in the West.

At the time of his appointment Mr. Posey was a Senator from Louisiana. Governor Posey was a Virginian by birth. In 1774 he took part in Dunmore's expedition against the Indians. He served during the Revolutionary War under Gates, Washington and Wayne. He was at the storming of Stony Point and was the first to give the watchword, "The Fort's our own." He remained with the army after the close of the war, and when General Anthony Wayne was sent to the Northwest Territory, Posey was one of his Lieutenants. He removed to Louisiana in 1810 and was appointed by the Governor of that State to a seat in the United States Senate. He served as Governor of Indiana until it was admitted into the Union as a State, when he removed to Illinois, where he died in 1818.

Governor Posey arrived at Vincennes on the 25th of May, 1813, and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties. In December of that year the Legislature met at Corydon, when Governor Posey delivered his first message. In this message the following passage appears: "The present crisis is awful, and big with great events. Our land and Nation is involved in the common calamity of war. But we are under the protecting care of the beneficent Being who has, on a former occasion, brought us in safety through an arduous struggle, and placed us on a foundation of independence, freedom, and happiness. He will not suffer to be taken from us what he, in his great wisdom, has thought

proper to confer and bless us with, if we make wise and virtuous use of his good gifts.”



STATE HOUSE AT CORYDON.

The State House, built for the use of the Territorial Legislature and officers, was erected at Corydon, in 1811, but

not entirely completed until 1815. It still stands. It is forty feet square, and two stories high. The material is blue limestone, taken from the neighboring hills. The walls of the first story are two and one-half feet thick, and of the second story two feet, showing that it was intended to last. The lower story was used as a hall for the House of Representatives, while the Senate occupied one of the two rooms in the second story. In this building the Legislature met annually until 1825.

On the 14th of December, 1815, the Territorial Legislature adopted a memorial asking Congress to admit Indiana into the Union as a State. The memorial recited that the ordinance for the government of the Territory provided that whenever there should be sixty thousand free white inhabitants in the Territory it should be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and that more than the requisite number of inhabitants were then residing in the Territory. The memorial emphasized again in the following passage the opposition to slavery which had been growing up: "And whereas, the inhabitants of this territory are principally composed of emigrants from every part of the Union, and as various in their customs and sentiments as in their persons, we think it prudent, at this time, to express to the general government our attachment to the fundamental principles of legislation prescribed by Congress in their ordinance for the government of this territory, particularly as respects personal freedom and involuntary servitude, and hope they may be continued as the basis of the constitution."

The census taken by order of the legislature gave to the various Counties a population as follows:

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COUNTIES	VOTERS	TOTAL
Wayne .....	1,225	6,407
Franklin .....	1,430	7,370
Dearborn .....	902	4,424
Switzerland .....	377	1,832
Jefferson .....	874	4,270
Clark .....	1,387	7,150
Washington .....	1,420	7,317
Harrison .....	1,056	6,975
Knox .....	1,391	8,068
Gibson .....	1,100	5,330
Posey .....	320	1,619
Warrick .....	280	1,415
Perry .....	250	1,720
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	12,112	63,897

Congress passed an enabling act authorizing an election to be held on the 1st Monday of May, 1816, for the election of delegates to a convention to frame a State Constitution. The election was duly held and delegates to the convention chosen. The convention began its session at Corydon, on the 10th of June, 1816, and concluded its work and adjourned on the 29th of the same month. Jonathan Jennings was President of the convention and William Hendricks, Secretary. The last work of the convention was to pass an ordinance accepting the conditions fixed in the act of Congress of April 19, 1816, in respect to boundaries, jurisdiction, school lands, salt springs, lands for a permanent seat for the State Government, etc. The rapid work and the clearness and conciseness of the language used, the just and comprehensive provisions for the maintenance of civil and religious liberty, prove that the men selected to frame the first constitution



of Indiana were well qualified in every way for the business they had in hand.

When the members of the Constitutional Convention met at Corydon on June 10, 1816, to deliberate upon the articles of the organic law to be adopted for the government of the



CONSTITUTIONAL ELM AT CORYDON.

new State, they held most of their meetings under the shade of a huge elm tree, on the banks of Big Indian Creek, some several hundred feet northwest of the State House. The old elm tree still stands in all its grandeur. It spreads one hundred and twenty-four feet from tip to tip of its branches, and is more than fifty feet high. It is cherished by the people of Corydon as one of their historical landmarks.

Writs of election were issued to the several Counties for

an election to be held for the choosing of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and member of Congress. The contestants for the office of Governor were Jonathan Jennings, then delegate in Congress, and Thomas Posey, Governor of the Territory. Jennings received 5,211 votes and Posey 3,934. Christopher Harrison was elected Lieutenant Governor, and William Hendricks member of Congress. Jonathan Jennings was born in New Jersey in 1784. He was liberally educated and began the study of law, but before being admitted to the bar left his then home in Pennsylvania, and started for Indiana Territory. Arriving at Pittsburg he took passage on a flat boat and floated down the Ohio River to Jeffersonville. He resumed his legal studies and was soon admitted to the bar. Shortly afterward he was made Clerk of the Territorial Legislature, and in 1809 entered upon the race for delegate to Congress against Thomas Randolph, then Attorney General of the Territory. The contest was an exceedingly exciting one, the question at issue being that of slavery. Governor Harrison, threw all of his influence to Randolph, but Jennings was elected, beating his opponent twenty-six votes. This election of Jennings fixed the status of Indiana on the slavery question, for had Randolph been elected there is no doubt that the prohibitory clause of the Ordinance of 1787 would have been repealed. Randolph contested the seat, but it finally was decided in favor of Jennings. In 1811 Mr. Jennings was re-elected to Congress, and again in 1813, and in 1816 was elected first Governor of the State. While acting as Governor, in 1818, President Monroe, appointed Governor Jennings one of the Commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. While he was absent from Corydon on that duty, Lieutenant-Governor Harrison went to Corydon, took

possession of the executive office, and performed the duties of Governor. The constitution prohibited the Governor from holding any office under the United States, and Mr. Harrison construed the acceptance of Governor Jennings of the appointment to treat with the Indians as a vacation of his office of Governor. Governor Jennings did not take this view of it and demanded that Harrison surrender to him possession of the office, which he refused to do. This contest produced considerable trouble, both with the other State officers and with the Legislature. On its assembling both Houses of the Legislature recognized Mr. Harrison as the real Governor, but the next day a committee was appointed to investigate the trouble in the executive department. After the investigation the committee reported in favor of recognizing Governor Jennings and the report was adopted by a vote of 15 yeas, to 13 nays. Lieutenant Governor Harrison at once resigned his office, and the next year ran against Mr. Jennings for Governor, but was badly beaten, receiving only 2,008 votes out of a total of 11,256.

In 1822 Governor Jennings was elected to Congress from the second district and resigned his office of Governor. He was re-elected to Congress continuously until 1830, when he was defeated by General John C. Carr. His defeat was occasioned by his convivial habits, his appetite for liquor growing upon him to such a degree as to render him oftentimes unfit for public duty. On retiring from Congress he went to live upon his farm near Charlestown, and only once afterward did he perform any public duty. In 1832 President Jackson appointed Jennings, Dr. John W. Davis and Moses Crum, commissioners to treat with the Indians for their lands in northern Indiana and southern Michigan. The treaty point was near where the town of Huntington now

stands. The following story is told of the occasion by John H. B. Nowland, who was present at the time:

"During the preliminary council, Dr. Davis, who was a pompous, big-feeling man, said something that gave offence to Aubanaubee, one of the head chiefs of the Pottawattamies. The chief addressed Governor Jennings, saying: 'Does our great Father intend to insult us by sending such men to treat with us? Why did he not send such men as Generals Cass and Tipton? You (pointing to the Governor), good man and know how to treat us. (Pointing to Crum.) He chipped beef for the squaws at Wabash, (meaning that Crum was the beef contractor at the treaty of 1826). Then pointing to Davis, he said: 'Big man and dam fool.' The chief then spoke a few words to the Pottawattamies present, who gave one of their peculiar yells and left the council house, and could only be induced to return after several days, and then only through the great influence of Governor Jennings."

Governor Jennings died on his farm on July 26, 1834. The next day his body was put in a common farm wagon and taken to Charlestown for burial. The State has since erected a handsome monument to mark his grave. Governor Jennings was a man of polished manners, and in the prime of his popularity he wielded more influence with the people of the State than any other man then living.

Christopher Harrison, who was the first Lieutenant Governor of the State was a man of very eccentric habits. He was a native of Maryland. In his youth he was in the employ of Mr. Patterson, one of the great merchants of Baltimore, and it is said was a lover of Miss Patterson who afterward became the wife of Jerome Bonaparte. Whatever may be the truth about that, he suddenly left Mary-

land and emigrated to Indiana Territory. He built himself a log cabin on the bluffs near Hanover, in Jefferson County, and there lived the life of a hermit for a number of years. He lived by hunting until 1815. He was a man of good education and of cultivated mind, and was a painter of more than ordinary merit. In 1815 he gave up his hermit life and removed to Salem, and began merchandising. While at Salem he lived alone. He was passionately fond of flowers and his garden fairly reveled in roses, and it was a favorite place for the young people, especially children. He made the flowers into bouquets and gave them away freely. He was the friend of every child in the town. In 1816 he was elected Lieutenant Governor, but resigned as has already been told. In 1820 he was elected by the Legislature as one of the Commissioners to lay off and survey the site for the new capital. He was the only one of the Commissioners who attended and he assumed all the duties. About 1830 he returned to Maryland and died there in 1863. He was never married.

The retiring officers of the Territory were General Thomas Posey, Governor, and General John Gibson, Secretary. We have already given a sketch of Governor Posey. John Gibson who was the Secretary of the Territory from its organization to 1816, when it was admitted as a State, and several times its acting Governor, came from fighting stock. He was born in 1740 at Lancaster, Pa. At the age of eighteen he joined the troops of General Forbes, in an expedition against Fort Du Quesne. The expedition was successful, resulting in the capture of the fort, and when peace was declared young Gibson settled at the fort as an Indian trader. Not long afterward he was captured by the Indians, and was sentenced by them to death at the stake, but

an old squaw took a fancy to the young pale face and adopted him, thus saving his life. He remained with the Indians for several years, taking as his Indian wife a sister of Logan, the great chief. Gibson finally left the Indians and returned to Fort Pitt, and resumed business as a trader. In 1774 he accompanied the expedition of Lord Dunmore, and was sent by that officer on a mission to Logan, and it was to him Logan made the speech which has rendered his name immortal. Gibson's Indian wife was one of the members of Logan's family that were slaughtered, as Logan believed, by Colonel Cresap, which was the origin of the Cresap war.

On the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, Gibson raised a regiment for the patriot army. He served throughout the war with great distinction, having command of the western frontier. In 1788 he was a member of the convention which framed the first constitution of Pennsylvania, and served several years as one of the Judges of that State. When the Territory of Indiana was created he was appointed Secretary, and acted as Governor for several months until the arrival of Governor Harrison. Again in 1812, when Harrison was absent fighting the Indians, he was the acting Governor, and displayed great energy in preparing to resist the encroachments of the Indians, and to relieve Captain Zachary Taylor, who was beleaguered at Fort Harrison. He was present with Harrison at the historical interview with Tecumseh, when the Indian chief intended to attack Harrison. Gibson was proficient in the Indian language and understood the words of Tecumseh to his followers, and at once ordered the guard forward, which prevented a massacre by the Indians. Not long after his retirement from the office of Secretary of the Territory he removed to Pittsburg, where he died in 1822.

The first session of the Legislature of the State of Indiana opened at Corydon on the 4th of November, 1816. Isaac Blackford was elected Speaker of the House. It was an important session. There was much to do. The State was rapidly increasing in population, and the new settlements were spreading out in every direction. All the affairs of the people had been looked after by the General Government, but now the people were to govern themselves. The State constitution was approved by Congress, and Indiana was formally admitted into the Union on the 11th of December. By the constitution the Legislature had to elect the other State officers, and before the close of the session Robert A. New was elected Secretary of State; William H. Lilly, Auditor of Public Accounts; and Daniel G. Lane, Treasurer of State. James Noble and Waller Taylor were elected to represent the State in the United States Senate.

James Noble was long one of the leading men of Indiana. He was, like so many others of those who became notable in the early history of Indiana, a Virginian by birth. When James was but a lad his father removed to Kentucky. When but seventeen years of age James concluded it was time to start out in life for himself, and the first thing he did was to take a wife. He had no settled occupation, but being of strong mind, and ambitious, he entered upon the study of law soon after his marriage. He finished his legal studies in Kentucky and chose for his future home Brookville, Indiana. At that time Brookville was the most important town in eastern Indiana, and counted among its lawyers quite a number who afterward became the leading men of the State. Mr. Noble was not long in securing a good practice, for he early became known as one of the best jury lawyers in the country. Like all ambitious young lawyers,

of those days, he entered into politics, and soon demonstrated that he was unrivaled on the stump. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1816, and took a prominent part in the deliberations of that body. He was elected a member of the first State Legislature, and three days after its organization was chosen Senator in Congress. He served as Senator until 1831, when he died at Washington, while attending a session of that body. During his service as Senator he became very popular with his colleagues and wielded a wide influence.

Waller Taylor, the other Senator, was also a Virginian. He came into the Territory very early, and at once ranked himself as one of the steadfast friends of Governor Harrison, and one of the most determined advocates of slavery. He was a man of strong likes, and equally strong dislikes. He was never very choice in the language he used against an opponent. He was made one of the Territorial Judges by Governor Harrison, and served in that capacity for several years. When the slavery question got into politics and was to be fought over at the polls, he took sides with Mr. Randolph, who was contesting the race for Congress with Jonathan Jennings, the candidate of the anti-slavery people. He used every effort to force Jennings to challenge him to a duel, but in that he failed. Two years afterward he was the opposing candidate against Mr. Jennings, but was very badly defeated. He served in the Senate until 1825.

In October, 1818, the United States, by a treaty with the Delaware Indians, secured all the lands claimed by those Indians in the boundaries of Indiana, and by an act passed in 1819 Congress gave to the State four sections of land to be located upon any public land that was unsold, upon which to found a site for the permanent capital of the State.



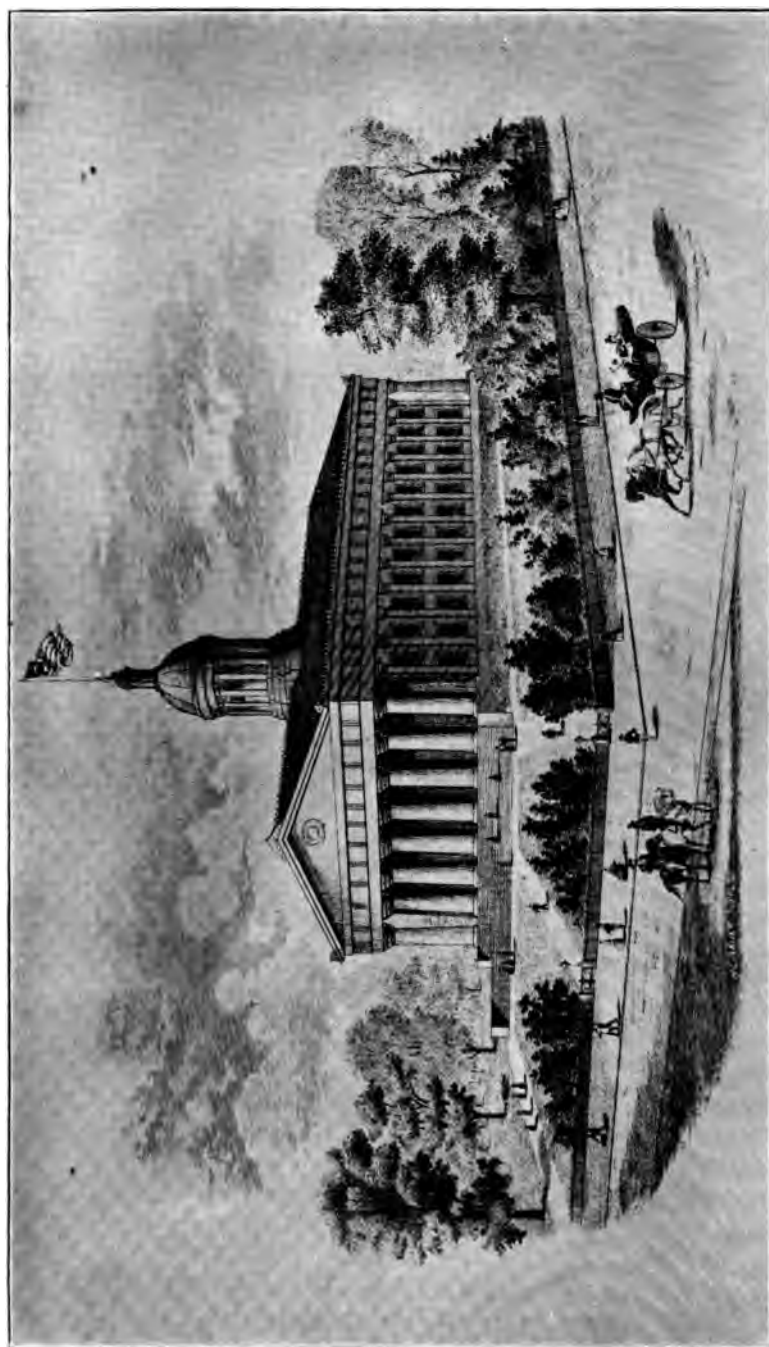
At its session in 1820 the Legislature appointed ten commissioners to make selection of the lands. In May of that year the Commissioners met at the house of William Conner, on the west fork of White River, in what is now Hamilton County. On the 7th of June the site was selected, and the selection was confirmed by the Legislature at its next session, and the name of "Indianapolis" was given to this new city which was to be built in the wilderness. Then, it was far away from any of the settlements, its nearest store being sixty miles away, on the Whitewater. It was near the geographical center of the State, and the Commissioners fondly believed that in time it would be the center of population. The new town was laid off and lots ordered sold, but it was not until 1825 that the capital was finally removed from Corydon.

By 1850 it was seen that the constitution of the State needed revision in several important points, and a convention for that purpose was ordered. The convention was held in Indianapolis, beginning its sessions on the 7th day of October, 1850. It was composed of one hundred and fifty members. The convention continued its sessions, from day to day, until the 10th of February, 1851, when it finally adjourned. The new constitution was submitted to the people for ratification. It received 109,319 votes, while 26,755 votes were cast against it. The thirteenth article, was submitted to a separate vote and was adopted as a part of the constitution, receiving 109,976 affirmative votes against 21,066 in the negative. This article read as follows:

"Section 1.—No negro or mulatto shall come into, or settle in the State, after the adoption of this constitution.

"Section 2.—All contracts made with any negro or mulatto coming into the State, contrary to the provision of





FIRST STATE HOUSE IN INDIANAPOLIS—ERECTED IN 1836.

the foregoing section, shall be void; and any person who shall employ such negro or mulatto, or otherwise encourage him to remain in the State, shall be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars.

“Section 3.—All fines which may be collected for a violation of the provisions of this article, or of any law which may hereafter be passed for the purpose of carrying the same into execution, shall be set apart and appropriated for the colonization of such negroes and mulattoes, and their descendants, as may be in the State at the adoption of this constitution and may be willing to emigrate.

“Section 4.—The General Assembly shall pass laws to carry out the provisions of this article.”

This article was stricken out by a vote of the people in 1881. As originally adopted the right of suffrage was limited by the constitution to white males over the age of twenty-one, and representation in the General Assembly was based upon the number of white males in the State over the age of twenty-one. In 1881, the word white was stricken out of all those sections.

In closing this chapter on the early organization of the State, it will be proper to say something of William Hendricks, the State's first representative in Congress. More especially should this be done, as Mr. Hendricks was one of those men who had much to do with shaping the character of the State, and casting it on the lines of prosperity. Mr. Hendricks was born in Pennsylvania in 1783. On reaching manhood he removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, and remained there a year or two engaged in the study of the law. In 1814 he located at Madison, Indiana, and that year was elected a member of the Territorial House of Representatives, and was chosen Speaker of that body. Two years later he was a

member of the constitutional convention and took an active part in all the deliberations of that body.

At the first election for a member of Congress, held under the State government, he was elected. He was twice re-elected and in 1822 was elected Governor of the State, without opposition, receiving all the votes that were cast. He served as Governor until February 12, 1825, when he was elected a member of the United States Senate. He was re-elected in 1831, and at the expiration of his term retired to private life. When he came to Indiana he brought with him the outfit of a printing office, and began the publication of a weekly paper, and it was the ability he displayed in conducting this paper that laid the foundations of his political fortunes. While he was a member of the Senate, his wife went with him to Washington on one occasion, riding on horseback the entire distance between Madison and Washington, and carried an infant child in her arms. Senator Hendricks, was a great friend of education and was ever ready to help any educational enterprise that was called to his attention. On the 16th of May, 1850, he rode out to his farm, a short distance from Madison, to oversee the building of a family vault. While there he was taken sick and died soon afterward. He had two sons killed in the late war.

## CHAPTER IX.

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### INDIAN TITLES TO LAND—HOW EXTINGUISHED.

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When France claimed jurisdiction over the vast territory between the Mississippi and the lakes, she set up no claim to the land itself, but left that in the hands of the original possessors, the Indians. The French made no efforts to dispossess the Indians, nor to even purchase or obtain grants of land. They were satisfied with the right to establish trading posts, without asking for land. In fact they had no use for land. Their traders lived among the Indians and lived as the Indians did. Some years after the first actual settlers had made their homes at Vincennes, the Miami Indians granted a small tract of land immediately around the Post, for the use of the settlers. This grant was in common to all the settlers, and was so held, although different commanders did at various times make small grants to a few individuals out of the general domain. So, when France ceded the territory to Great Britain, she ceded it with all the rights the Indians had, unimpaired, and the little tract around Vincennes, and a similar tract at Kaskaskia was all the land not directly belonging to the Indians. It was the fear that the English would dispossess them of their rights in the land, under color of the treaty with France, that

aroused the Indians to renewed depredations and finally to open war.

The English Government was willing to concede the claims of the Indians, but the colonists were not, and settlements soon began in the territory. General Gage, in command of the forces of the King in America, and acting as the agent of his Government, issued a proclamation ordering all settlers in the territory of the Indians to abandon their settlements. The British Government endeavored to prevent any new settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains, and rejected several propositions for erecting new colonies in the interior, but the new settlements continued to be made, and the commander, at Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country, made several large grants of land to English traders, declaring that the grants were made because "the cultivation of lands not then appropriated, was essentially necessary and useful toward the better peopling and settlement of said country, as well as highly advantageous to his majesty's service in the raising, producing, and supplying provisions to his majesty's troops, then stationed, or thereafter to be stationed, in the said country of Illinois." In 1773, at Kaskaskia, an association of traders was formed, for the purchase of land from the Indians. The association was known as "The Illinois Land Company." This company, by deed of purchase from several Indian chiefs, obtained a grant of two large tracts of land, embracing about the whole of the present State of Illinois. The consideration given for these grants was five shillings in money and a supply of coarse material for clothing, brass kettles, powder, lead, gun flints, paints, etc., the whole being worth, probably, only a few hundred dollars.

In 1775 Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, ordered that all

vacant lands of his Majesty, within the colony of Virginia, should be surveyed and laid out in lots from one hundred to one thousand acres, for public sale. Virginia, at that time laid claim to all this northwestern territory. In the same year the "Wabash Land Company," of which Governor Dunmore was a stockholder, was formed, and purchased from the Piankashaw Indians two immense tracts of land. The first tract was described in the deed as follows: "One tract or parcel of land situate, lying and being on both sides of the Ouabache River, beginning at the mouth of a rivulet called Riviere du Chat, or Cat River, where it empties itself into the Ouabache River aforesaid, being about fifty-two leagues distant from and above Post St. Vincent aforesaid; thence down the Ouabache, by the several courses thereof, to a place called Point Coupee, (about twelve leagues above Post St. Vincent), being forty leagues, or thereabouts, in length on the said river Ouabache, from the place of beginning, with forty leagues in width or breadth on the east side, and thirty leagues in width or breadth on the west side of the Ouabache River aforesaid; to be continued along from the place of beginning to Point Coupee aforesaid. And also one other tract or parcel of land, situated, lying and being on both sides of the Ouabache river aforesaid, beginning from the mouth of White river, where it empties itself into the Ouabache river (about twelve leagues below Post St. Vincent), thence down the Ouabache river, by the several courses thereof, until it empties itself into the Ohio River, being from the said White River to the Ohio, fifty-three leagues in length, or thereabouts, be the same more or less, with forty leagues in width or breadth, on the east side, and thirty leagues in width or breadth on the west side of the Ouabache river aforesaid; (the intermediate space of twenty



four leagues, or thereabouts, between Point Coupee and the mouth of the White river aforesaid, being reserved for the use of the inhabitants of Post St. Vincent aforesaid, with the same width or breadth on both sides of the Ouabache river as is hereby granted in the two several tracts of land above bounded and described)." The deed further covenanted that the grantees should have the full right to navigate the Ouabache river and tributary streams, forever. These two tracts were about ninety leagues in length by seventy leagues in breadth, and contained about thirty-seven million five hundred thousand acres. The reader may be curious to know what was given for all these millions of acres, with their ores, their timber, and their water courses. Here is the list, as recorded in the deed:

"Four hundred blankets, twenty-two pieces of stroud, two hundred and fifty shirts, twelve gross of star gartering, one hundred and twenty pieces of ribbon, twenty-four pounds of vermillion, eighteen pairs velvet laced housings, one piece of malton, fifty-two fusils, thirty-five dozen large buckhorn-handle knives, forty dozen couteau knives, five hundred pounds of brass kettles, ten thousand gun flints, six hundred pounds of gunpowder, two thousand pounds of lead, four hundred pounds of tobacco, forty bushels of salt, three thousand pounds of flour, three horses; also the following quantities of silverware, viz: eleven very large armbands, forty wristbands, six whole moons, six half moons, nine ear-wheels, forty-six large crosses, twenty-nine hairpipes, sixty pairs of earbobs, twenty dozen small crosses, twenty dozen nose crosses and one hundred and ten dozen brooches."

Verily, Indian lands were cheap in those days. About the time these purchases were made, and before the purchasers could establish any English colony thereon, the war

between the colonies and the mother country broke out. At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War the two companies, having been united under the name of the "United Illinois and Wabash Land Companies," applied to Congress for a confirmation of the grants made to them. They continued their efforts to obtain confirmation until 1810 without success. When the colonies made peace with England, and secured their independence, Congress assumed that the treaty gave to the United States the full right to all the territory transferred, and that if the Indians had formerly possessed any right to the lands, that right had been forfeited by acts of warfare by the Indians against the colonies, and the Government made no movement toward the purchase of the lands from the Indians, but began to seek treaties of peace with them, fixing the boundary lines to suit the whites. In this way the Government obtained from the Iroquois all their claim to the western territory north and south of the Ohio, which claim was at least very questionable. Several treaties were made, at one time or another, with some of the chiefs of the various tribes, but the Indians generally repudiated them. At the great council held with the Indians by General Wayne, at Greenville, in 1795, General Wayne, assuming that all the former treaties wherein boundaries were fixed, were legal and binding, set up a claim for the Government to certain lands. This was resisted by all the chiefs present. Masas, a distinguished chief of the Chippewas, spoke as follows for his tribe:

"Elder Brother: When you yesterday read to us the treaty of Muskingum, I understood you clearly. At that treaty we had not good interpreters, and were left partly unacquainted with many particulars of it. I was surprised when I heard your voice, through a good interpreter, say

that we had received presents and compensation for those lands which were thereby ceded. I tell you now, that we, the three fires, never were informed of it. If our uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, have received such presents, they have kept them to themselves. I always thought that we, Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattamies, were the true owners of those lands, but now I find that new masters have undertaken to dispose of them, so that at this day, we do not know to whom they, of right, belong. We never received any compensation for them. I don't know how it is, but ever since that treaty we have become objects of pity, and our fires have been retiring from the country. Now, elder brother, you see we are objects of compassion; and have pity on our weakness and misfortunes, and since you have purchased these lands, we cede them to you. They are yours. Perhaps at a future day, your younger brothers may be made happy by becoming your children, should you extend to us your paternal protection."

Little Turtle for the Miamis said:

"I wish to ask of you and my brothers present, one question. I would be glad to know what lands have been ceded to you, as I am uninformed in this particular. I expect that the lands of the Wabash, and in this country, belong to me and my people. I now take the opportunity to inform my brothers of the United States, and others present, that there are men of sense and understanding among my people, as well as among theirs, and that these lands were disposed of without our knowledge or consent. I was yesterday surprised, when I heard from our forefathers, the Delawares, that these lands had been ceded by the British to the Americans, when the former were beaten by, and made peace with the latter, because you had before told us that it was the

Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and Saukeys, who had made this cession."

On the next day Little Turtle again took the floor, and made a long address, in which he announced definitely what his tribe claimed, and controverted the claims of the other tribes and of the Americans. He said:

"General Wayne: I hope you will pay attention to what I now say to you. I wish to inform you where your younger brothers, the Miamis, live, and, also, the Pottawattamies, of St. Joseph, together with the Wabash Indians. You have pointed out to us the boundary line between the Indians and the United States, but now I take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my forefathers, time immemorial, without molestation or dispute. The print of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonished at hearing you, and my brothers who are now present, telling each other what business you had transacted together heretofore at Muskingum, concerning this country. It is well known by all my brothers present, that my forefathers kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the headwaters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan; at this place I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawnees. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefathers a long time ago, and charged him not to sell or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised that my other brothers differed so much from me on this subject. For their conduct would lead one

to suppose that the Great Spirit and their forefathers, had not given them the same charge that was given to me, but, on the contrary had directed them to sell their lands to any white man who wore a hat, as soon as he should ask it of them. Now, elder brother, your younger brothers, the Miamis, have pointed out to you their country, and also to our brothers present. When I hear your remarks and proposals on the subject, I will be ready to give you an answer. I came with an expectation of hearing you say good things, but I have not yet heard what I expected."

Tarke, chief of the Wyandots said:

"Elder Brother: Now, listen to us. The Great Spirit above has appointed this day for us to meet together. I shall now deliver my sentiments to you, the fifteen fires. I view you lying in a gore of blood. It is me, an Indian, who has caused it. Our tomahawk yet remains in your head. The English gave it to me to place there. Elder brother, I now take the tomahawk out of your head. But, with so much care that you shall not feel pain or injury. I will now tear a big tree up by the roots, and throw the hatchet into the cavity which they occupied, where the waters will wash it away where it cannot be found. Now, I have buried the hatchet and I expect that none of my color will ever again find it out. I now tell you, that no one in particular can justly claim this ground; it belongs in common to us all; no earthly being has an exclusive right to it. The Great Spirit above is the true and only owner of this soil, and he has given us all an equal right to it."

By the treaty negotiated with the Indians at Greenville, by General Wayne, the following tracts of land in the limits of Indiana were ceded by the Indians to the United States:

No. 1.—A tract lying east of a line running from opposite

the mouth of Kentucky River, in a northerly direction to Fort Recovery in Ohio, and which forms a small portion of the western end of the cession of the first paragraph of article III., treaty of August 3, 1795. The bulk of the cession is in Ohio.

No. 2.—Six miles square at the confluence of St. Mary and St. Joseph Rivers, including Fort Wayne.

No. 3.—Two miles square on the Wabash, at the end of the portage of the Miami of the Lakes.

No. 4.—Six miles square at Ouiatenon or old Wea towns on the Wabash. This tract was subsequently retroceded to the Indians by treaty of September 30, 1809, and finally included within the Pottawattamie cession of 1818, and the Miami cession of the same year.

No. 5.—Clark's grant on the Ohio River, stipulated in deeds from Virginia to the United States, in 1784, to be granted to General George Rogers Clark and his soldiers.

No. 6.—Post of Vincennes and adjacent country to which the Indian title had been extinguished. A part of this tract was in Illinois.

It will be seen that by far the greater portion of Indiana was left under the original Indian titles. Enough of it had been transferred to the United States to accommodate all the settlers who were then in the territory, or likely to come in, for a number of years. The Clark Grant, was private property, but it was early opened to settlement by General Clark, and besides it, the United States had, by the treaty of Greenville, a good deal of land on the Wabash, and at the junction of the rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph, but the whites have always been a covetous people, and notwithstanding the Government had plenty of land on which they might settle, they were not content with it, but continually

encroached on those lands remaining to the Indians. It was the same after every new treaty, with its accompanying surrender of title. In 1795 a few families settled on the bottom lands on the Ohio River, where the town of Lawrenceburg now stands, and others settled in Clark County at a point designated as "Armstrong's Station." These were encroachments on the Indian lands, and with other similar encroachments, furnished the pretext for the conspiracy organized a few years later by Tecumseh.

When General William Henry Harrison was appointed Governor of the Territory, he was invested with general powers to make treaties with the various Indian tribes, and to extinguish by such treaties the titles of the Indians to the lands within the territory. He was very active in this matter and negotiated several treaties, acquiring with each large tracts of land. In 1802 he got from the Miamis and Pottawattamies large tracts in the vicinity of Vincennes, on the Wabash. In the next year at a treaty negotiated at Vincennes, he secured about one million six hundred thousand acres from the head men of the Delaware, Shawnee, Pottawattamie, Eel River, Kickapoo, Piankashaw and Kaskaskia tribes. During the same year he negotiated at Vincennes another treaty with the Kaskaskias by which the Government secured about eight million and six hundred thousand acres, lying on the borders of the Mississinnewa and Illinois Rivers. In August, 1804, at a treaty concluded at Vincennes, the Delawares and Piankashaws relinquished their claim to the tract of country lying between the Wabash and Ohio Rivers, and south of the road which led from Vincennes to the Falls of the Ohio. In 1805 the Delawares, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Eel Rivers and Weas ceded a large tract on the Ohio River, and in December of the same year

the Piankashaws ceded about two million six hundred thousand acres lying west of the Wabash River.

By these treaties the United States had acquired the title to all the Indian lands along the Ohio River, from the mouth of the Wabash to the western line of the State of Ohio. In 1809 Governor Harrison obtained from several of the tribes, by a treaty concluded at Fort Wayne, about three million acres, lying principally on the southeastern side of the Wabash River, and below the mouth of Raccoon creek, in what is now Parke County. Governor Harrison, by his several treaties had acquired for the Government, about 29,710,530 acres of land. Tecumseh, and his brother, the Prophet, rejected the treaty of Fort Wayne, and refused to be bound by it. The next treaty was in 1818, when the Delawares ceded all the lands claimed by them in the present boundaries of Indiana, but they reserved the right to occupy the land for three years after signing the treaty. Between that and the year 1840, when the Indian title to the last of the lands claimed by them in Indiana was extinguished, thirty-three separate treaties were negotiated. It will thus be seen that the process of extinguishing the Indian titles was a slow one, and that the Indians were not finally dispossessed until after Indiana had been a member of the Union for nearly a quarter of a century. In most of these final treaties certain tracts were reserved by the Indians for favorite members of the tribes, and are yet known as "reservations," although about all the lands have passed to other persons than the descendants of the original beneficiaries. A few descendants of the Miamis still live in Wabash and Miami Counties. In its various purchases from the Indians the United States frequently had to accept from two, and sometimes three different tribes separate relin-



quishments of their respective rights, titles and claims to the same section of country. On the accompanying map is delineated the boundaries of the different tracts of land within the State ceded to the United States from time to time by treaty with the various Indian tribes. The cessions are as follows:

No. 1.—A tract lying east of a line running from opposite the mouth of Kentucky River, in a northerly direction, to Fort Recovery, in Ohio, and which forms a small portion of the western end of the cession made by the first paragraph of article 3, treaty of August 3, 1795 with the Wyandot, Delaware, Miami, and nine other tribes. The bulk of the cession was in Ohio.

No. 2.—Six miles square at the confluence of St. Mary and St. Joseph Rivers, including Fort Wayne; also ceded by the treaty of August 3, 1795.

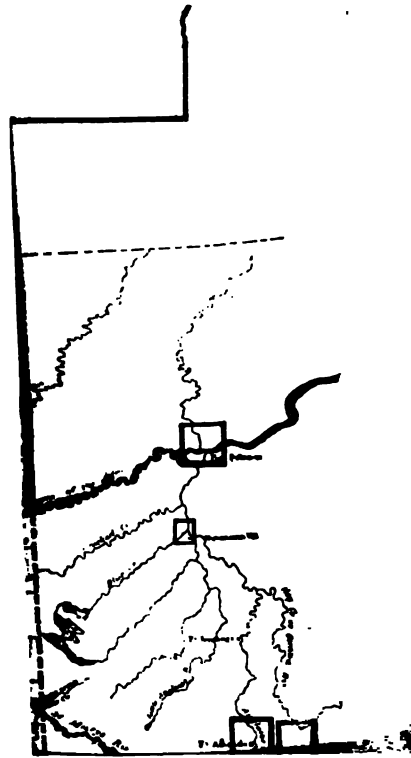
No. 3.—Two miles square on the Wabash, at the end of the Portage of the Miami of the Lake; also ceded by the treaty of August 3, 1795.

No. 4.—Six miles square at Ouiatenon, or Old Wea Towns, on the Wabash; also ceded by treaty of August 3, 1795. This tract was subsequently retroceded to the Indians by article 8, treaty of September 30, 1809, and finally included within the Pottawattamie cession of October 2, 1818, and the Miami cession of October 6, 1818.

No. 5.—Clark's grant on the Ohio River; stipulated in deed of Virginia to the United States in 1784. This tract was specially excepted from the limits of the Indian country by treaty of August 3, 1795.

No. 6.—Post of Vincennes and adjacent country. This tract was specially excluded from the limits of the Indian country by treaty of August 3, 1795. Doubts having arisen





as to its correct boundaries, they were specifically defined by treaty of June 7, 1803. The tract was partly in Illinois.

No. 7.—Tract ceded by the treaties of August 18, 1804, with the Delawares, and August 27, 1804, with the Piankashaws.

No. 8.—Cession of treaty August 21, 1805, with the Miamis, Eel Rivers, and Weas. Lies in the southeastern part of the State.

No. 9.—Cession by treaty of September 30, 1809, with the Miamis, Eel River, Delaware and Pottawattamie tribes, adjoining the "Vincennes tract" on the north. This cession was concurred in by the Weas in the treaty of October 26, 1809.

No. 10.—Cession by the same treaty of September 30, 1809, in the southeastern portion of the State.

No. 11.—Cession also by the treaty of September 30, 1809; partly in Illinois. This cession was conditional upon the consent of the Kickapoos, which was obtained by the treaty with them of December 9, 1809.

No. 12.—Cession by the Kickapoos, December 9, 1809, which was subsequently reaffirmed by them, June 4, 1816. It was also assented to by the Weas October 2, 1818, and by the Miamis October 6, 1818. It is partly in Illinois.

No. 13.—Cession by the Wyandots, September 29, 1817. This is mostly in Ohio.

No. 14.—Cession by the Pottawattamies, October 2, 1818; partly in Illinois. A subsequent treaty of August 30, 1819, with the Kickapoos, cedes a tract of country (No. 16.) which overlaps this cession.

By the treaty of October 2, 1818, the Weas ceded all the land claimed by them in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, except a small reserve on the Wabash River. Their claim was of

a general and indefinite character, and is fully covered by more definite cessions by other tribes.

By the treaty of October 3, 1818, the Delawares ceded all their claims to land in Indiana. This claim, which they held in joint tenancy with the Miamis, was located on the waters of White River, and is included in the tract marked 15, ceded by the Miamis, October 6, 1818.

No. 15.—Cession by the Miamis, October 6, 1818. Its general boundaries cover all of Central Indiana and a small portion of Western Ohio, but within its limits were included the Wea Reservation of 1818 (No. 17), and six tracts of different dimensions were reserved for the future use of the Miamis [Nos. 21, 29 (30 and 50), (31, 48, 53 and 54), 49 and 51]. The Miamis also assented to the Kickapoo cession of December 9, 1809 (No. 12). The Kickapoos in turn, by treaty of July 30, 1819, relinquished all claim to the country southeast of the Wabash, which was an indefinite tract, and is covered by the foregoing Miami cession of 1818.

No. 16.—Cession by the Kickapoos, August 30, 1819. This cession is largely in Illinois. It overlaps the Pottawattamie cession, of October 2, 1818 (No. 14). It is in turn overlapped by the Pottawattamie cession (No. 23), of October 26, 1832.

No. 17.—Cession of the Weas, August 11, 1820, of the tract reserved by them October 2, 1818. It is on the Wabash River in the western part of the State, and is within the general limits of the Miami cession (No. 15), of October 6, 1818.

No. 18.—Cession of August 29, 1821, by the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattamies; mostly in Michigan.

No. 19.—Cession by the Pottawattamies by the first clause of the first article of the treaty of October 23, 1826.

It lies north of the Wabash River. This and an indefinite extent of adjoining country was also claimed by the Miamis, who ceded their claim thereto, October 23, 1826, with the exception of several reservations, four of which (Nos. 26, 27, 32 and 52) were partly or entirely within the general limits of the Pottawattamie cession.

No. 20.—Cession by the last clause of the first article of the Pottawattamie treaty of October 16, 1826, in the northwest corner of the State.

As above stated, the Miamis, by treaty of October 23, 1826, ceded all their claim to land in Indiana, lying north and west of the Wabash and Miami (Maumee) Rivers, except six small tribal and a number of individual reserves or grants. These six tribal reserves are numbered 23, 27, 32, 52, 25, and 28, the first four being either partly or wholly within the Pottawattamie cession, by the first clause of the first article of the treaty of October 16, 1826, and the other two within the Pottawattamie cession, of October 27, 1832.

No. 21.—Cession by the Eel River Miamis, February 11, 1828. This tract is within the general limits of the Miami cession (No. 15.) of 1818, and was reserved therefrom.

No. 22.—Cession by the second clause of the first article of the Pottawattamie treaty of September 20, 1828.

No. 23.—Cession by the Pottawattamies, October 26, 1832, in the northwest portion of the State. Near the southwest corner it overlaps the Kickapoo cession (No. 16) of August 30, 1819. Within the general limits of this cession seven tracts were reserved for different bands of the tribe, which are numbered on the map as follows: 33, 34, 39, 40 (two reserves), 41 and 42.

No. 24.—Cession by the Pottawattamies of Indiana and Michigan, October 27, 1832, which in terms is a relinquish-

ment of their claim to any remaining lands in the States of Indiana and Illinois, and in the Territory of Michigan, south of Grand River. Within the general limits of this cession, however, they reserved for the use of the various bands of the tribe, eleven tracts of different areas, and which are numbered as follows: 35, 36, 37, 38, 43 (two reserves), 44 (two reserves), 45, 46 and 47.

Nos. 25 to 32 inclusive, ceded, by treaty with the Miamis, October 23, 1834, eight small tracts previously reserved by them.

No. 25.—Tract of thirty-six sections at Flat Belly's village, reserved by treaty of 1826.

No. 26.—Tract of five miles in length on the Wabash, extending back to Eel River, reserved by treaty of 1826.

No. 27.—Tract of ten sections at Racoon's village, reserved by the treaty of 1826.

No. 28.—Tract of ten sections on Mud Creek, reserved by treaty of 1826. The treaty of October 27, 1832, with the Potawatamies, established a reserve of sixteen sections for the bands of Ash-kum and Wee-si-o-nas (No. 45) and one of five sections for the band of Wee-sau (No. 47), which overlapped and included nearly all the territory comprised in the Mud Creek reserve.

No. 29.—Tract of two miles square on the Salamanie River, reserved by the treaty of 1818.

No. 30.—A portion of the tract opposite the mouth of Aboutte River, reserved by the treaty of 1818.

No. 31.—A portion of the tract known as the "Big Reserve," established by the treaty of 1818.

No. 32.—Tract of ten sections at the Forks of the Wabash, reserved by the treaty of 1826. This cession provides for the relinquishment of the Indian title and the issuance of a patent to John B. Richardville therefor.

No. 33.—Cession of December 4, 1834, by Com-o-za's band of Pottawattamies, of a tract of two sections reserved for them on the Tippecanoe River by the treaty of October 26, 1832.

No. 34.—Cession of December 10, 1834, by Mau-ke-kose's band of the Pottawattamies, of six sections reserved to them by treaty of October 26, 1832.

No. 35.—Cession of December 16, 1834, by the Pottawattamies, of two sections reserved by the treaty of October 27, 1832, to include their mills on the Tippecanoe River.

No. 36.—Cession of December 17, 1834, by Mota's band of Pottawattamies, of four sections reserved for them by treaty of October 27, 1832.

No. 37.—Cession of March 26, 1836, by Mes-quaw-buck's band of Pottawattamies, of four sections reserved for them by treaty of October 27, 1832.

No. 38.—Cession of March 29, 1836, by Che-case's band of Pottawattamies, of four sections reserved for them by the treaty of October 27, 1832.

No. 39.—Cession of April 11, 1836, by Aub-ba-nau-bee's band of Pottawattamies, of thirty-six sections reserved for them by the treaty of October 26, 1832.

No. 40.—Cession of April 22, 1836, by the bands of O-kaw-mause, Kee-waw-nee, Nee-boash, and Ma-che-saw (Mat-chis-jaw), of ten sections reserved to them by the Pottawattamies, October 26, 1832.

No. 41.—Cession of April 22, 1836, by the bands of Nas-waw-kee (Nees-waugh-gee) and Quash-quaw, of three sections reserved for them by the treaty of October 26, 1832.

No. 42.—Cession of August 5, 1836, by the bands of Pee-pin-ah-waw, Mack-kah-tah-mo-may, and No-taw-kah (Pottawattamies), of twenty-two sections reserved for them and



the band of Menom-i-nee (the latter is not mentioned in the cession), by treaty of October 26, 1832.

No. 43.—Cession of September 20, 1836, by the bands of To-i-sas brother, Me-mot-way, and Che-quaw-ka-ko, of ten sections reserved to them by the Pottawattamies by treaty of October 27, 1832, and cession of September 22, 1836, by Ma-sac's band of Pottawattamies, of four sections reserved for them by the treaty of October 27, 1832.

September 23, 1836 various bands of the Pottawattamies ceded the lands reserved for them by the treaty of 1832 (being all their remaining lands in Indiana—numbered from 44 to 47 inclusive, as follows:

No. 44.—Four sections each for the bands of Kin-kash and Men-o-quet.

No. 45.—Ten sections for the band of Che-chaw-kose.

No. 46.—Sixteen sections for the bands of Ash-kum and Wee-si-o-nas.

No. 47.—Five sections for the band of Wee-sau. This cession overlaps Nos. 19 and 28.

A cession for the second time is also made by this treaty of the four sections reserved for the band of Mote (No. 35) by the treaty of October 27, 1832.

November 6, 1838, the Miamis ceded as follows, Nos. 48 to 52 inclusive:

No. 48.—A portion of the "Big Reserve," within the limits of which is reserved a tract for the band of Me-to-sinia, numbered 54.

No. 49.—The reservation by the treaty of 1818, on the Wabash River, below the forks thereof.

No. 50.—The remainder of the tract reserved by the treaty of 1818, opposite the mouth of Aboutte River.

No. 51.—The reserve by the treaty of 1818 at the mouth of Flat Rock Creek.

No. 52.—The reserve at Seek's village by treaty of 1826.

No. 53.—Cession of November 28, 1840, of the residue of the "Big Reserve," (except the grant to Me-to-sin-ia's band, No. 54).

No. 54.—By the Miami treaty of November 6, 1838, a reserve of ten miles square was made (out of the general cession) for the band of Me-to-sin-ia. By the treaty of November 28, 1840, the United States agreed to convey this tract to Me-shing-go-me-sia, son of Me-to-sin-ia, in trust for the band. By act of Congress approved June 10, 1872, this reserve was partitioned among the members of the band, sixty three in number, and patents issued to each of them for his or her share. This ended all the Indian tribal titles to lands in Indiana.

## CHAPTER X.

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### EARLY LAND GRANTS.

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Indiana has been peculiarly fortunate in not having any great legal contests over titles to land, such as arose in Missouri, California and other new States, springing from large grants to individuals or companies. Soon after the French settled at Vincennes, the Piankashaw Indians gave to the Post a grant of land for the use of the inhabitants. It was never specifically described by metes and bounds, but was a sort of general permission to occupy lands adjacent to the Post, to be cultivated for the support of the inhabitants. No question ever arose between the Indians and the French over this land, but the French occupied and cultivated it at will. Many years afterward, and after the United States had assumed jurisdiction over the country, the descendants of the first French settlers, set up a claim that the Indians had ceded to the settlers about fifteen thousand square miles of land, and asked Congress to set it off to them. They produced no writing or other evidence of this claim, except a clause that had been inserted in a written conveyance of land to the Wabash Land Company. In that deed of cession certain lands were described as having been sold to the Wabash Land Company, and a statement made that the intervening land had been reserved or granted to the inhabitants of the Post at Vincennes. Con-

gress never admitted this claim, and refused to recognize the cession to the Wabash Land Company.

While the French occupied Vincennes the land that had been granted for the use of the Post was mainly cultivated in common. That is, it was called the land of the Post, but permission was given to individuals to cultivate portions of it. It was fenced in as a whole, and when the harvest was over the fencing would be taken down, so as to again throw it into a common. St. Ange, while he commanded at the Post, gave some few specific grants from this land to certain individuals, holding it, as he did, as the property of the king, which, as the king's representative, he had a right to dispose of to those who had rendered valuable services to his majesty. These grants were sometimes in writing and sometimes only verbal. This custom was followed by other French commanders who succeeded St. Ange in authority. But little effort was ever made to record, or perpetuate the evidences of these grants, and when the British took possession they were the cause of great trouble and hardship. The treaty between France and England provided that all the property rights of the French inhabitants at Vincennes and the other Posts should be recognized and protected by the British Government. From 1763, the time of the cession to the British, until 1772, nothing appears to have been done by the British authorities to interfere with the peaceable possession of the lands by the French. In that year General Gage issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas, many persons, contrary to the positive orders of the king upon the subject, have undertaken to make settlements beyond the boundaries fixed by the treaties made with the Indian nations, which boundaries ought to serve as a barrier between the whites and the said nations; and a

great number of persons have established themselves particularly on the river Ouabache, where they lead a wandering life, without government, and without laws, interrupting the free course of trade, destroying the game, and causing infinite disturbance in the country, which occasions considerable injury to the affairs of the king, as well as those of the Indians—his majesty has been pleased to order, and by these presents orders are given in the name of the king, to all those who have established themselves on the lands upon the Ouabache, whether at St. Vincent or elsewhere, to quit those countries instantly and without delay, and to retire, at their choice, into some one of the colonies of his majesty, where they will be received and treated as the other subjects of his majesty.”

The receipt of this proclamation caused great commotion at Vincennes. They had been resting securely on the promise in the treaty that they should be protected in their property rights, and to be thus peremptorily ordered to leave their homes and seek refuge somewhere else, was startling. The principal French inhabitants of the Post at once dispatched a letter to General Gage, remonstrating against his arbitrary order. They claimed that the French settlement at Vincennes was of “seventy years’ standing;” that the lands had originally been ceded to the Post by the Indians, who were the owners and possessors of it; that their lands “had been granted to them by order and under the protection” of the King of France; that they were held by “sacred titles;” that their titles had been guaranteed by the treaty of 1763. To this letter of protest General Gage replied as follows:

“New York, April 2, 1773.

“Gentlemen:—I have received your letter of the 14th of September last, with the representations annexed, which I

intend to cause, in a few days, to be transported to the feet of his majesty.

"As you claim your possession by sacred titles, insinuating that your settlement is of seventy years' standing, and that the lands have been granted by order and under the protection of his most christian majesty, it is necessary that his majesty should be informed very particularly upon these points; and it is important to you to give convincing proofs of all that you allege in this respect.

"To this end I have to demand, without delay, the name of every inhabitant at Vincennes and its neighborhood, and by what title each one claims; if it is by concession, the year of the concession must be added, as well as the name of the officer who made it, and the name of the governor-general who approved and confirmed it with [words unintelligible] also of the records where each concession shall have been registered. That the report which I expect may be better understood, I annex hereto a form, which I beg you to follow exactly, and to put me as early as possible in a situation to push forward your business.

"I am, Gentlemen, your most humble and obedient servant,

"THOMAS GAGE."

This did not help matters very much for the poor French settlers at Vincennes. Many of their concessions had been verbally made, but they had occupied the land for many years, never dreaming that their right would be questioned. Those which had been made in writing, or at least many of them, had been without record. The French settlers were a careless, happy people, and only a few of them could read or write, and they had no knowledge of the value or importance of record evidence of title, or even of written evidence. Their deeds had been carelessly lost or destroyed. There was

nothing to do but to appeal to their former commandants. St. Ange responded in a long communication to General Gage, in which he certified to the fact that he had commanded the Post from 1736 to 1764, "and that during said time I have conceded to many inhabitants divers lands and pieces of ground, by order of my said Srs. the Governors, in the name of His Most Christian Majesty." He claimed that full faith and credit should be given to all such concessions, and that in addition to them he had verbally permitted a number of individuals to establish themselves on and cultivate certain lands, of which they had held possession for many years. It appears that one Baumer, who had been a Notary at Vincennes, had fled the colony, and as most of the inhabitants were in the custom of leaving with the Notary all their important and valuable writings, he had been in possession of many of the written concessions, and had carried them away with him. It was also claimed that at the time of the removal of the record office from Vincennes to the Illinois country a number of concession papers and contracts of sale had been lost.

Before any further steps were taken in the matter the British Government disapproved of the order of General Gage. The war with the colonies speedily followed, and on the capture of Vincennes by General George Rogers Clark, he guaranteed the settlers in their rights. In 1773 what became known as the "Illinois Land Company" was organized, and obtained from a few chiefs a grant of nearly all of the present State of Illinois. Two years later the "Wabash Land Company" was formed and purchased a concession from some of the Indians, of lands on both sides of the Wabash. They got a tract about ninety leagues long by seventy wide. Many efforts were afterward made to get Con-

gress to recognize and confirm these grants but all failed. When General Clark captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes, Virginia claimed all the country, and in 1778 the General Assembly of that State organized the country northwest of the Ohio River into the County of Illinois, and the next year appointed Colonel John Todd as County Lieutenant. Soon after assuming his office the County Lieutenant issued the following proclamation:

“Whereas, from the fertility and beautiful situation of the lands bordering upon the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois and Wabash Rivers, the taking up of the usual quantity of land heretofore allowed for a settlement by the government of Virginia, would injure both the strength and commerce of this country: I do, therefore, issue this proclamation, strictly enjoining all persons whatsoever, from making any new settlements upon the flat lands of the said rivers, or within one league of said lands, unless in manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitants, until further orders herein given. And, in order that all the claims to lands in said county may be fully known, and some method provided for perpetuating by record, the just claims, every inhabitant is required, as soon as conveniently may be, to lay before the person, in each district, appointed for that purpose, a memorandum of his or her land, with copies of all their vouchers; and where vouchers have never been given, or are lost, such depositions or certificates as will tend to support their claims:—the memorandum to mention the quantity of land, to who originally granted, and when,—deducing the title through the various occupants to the present possessor. The number of adventurers who will shortly overrun this country, renders the above method necessary, as well to ascertain the vacant lands, as to guard against



trespasses which will probably be committed on lands not on record."

Colonel J. M. P. Legras was appointed commandant at Vincennes. To further organize the country, and to make some pretense of authority, the County Lieutenant established a court at Vincennes, with Colonel Legras as President. This court soon organized itself into a sort of land gift association, and proceeded to give grants of lands right and left, to the French and American inhabitants of Vincennes, and to sundry civil and military officers. They were not very particular about paying regard to any claims the Indians might have, but made their grants wherever the individual favored asked for it. These grants ranged from town lots in size to four hundred acres, and were given to whoever asked for them. Having thus disposed, in a few years, of nearly fifty thousand acres, the court concluded to go into the gift business by the wholesale, and divided among the members of the court the whole of the territory that had been claimed as a concession by the Indians to the French. Their method was for one member to absent himself from the court at one session, and while he was thus absent his fellow members would enter of record a grant to him. The next day he would appear and unite in making a similar grant to an absentee.

In 1787 Lieutenant Colonel Harmar, in command of the United States troops, arrived at Vincennes and put a stop to this granting of land by the court. By the ordinance of 1787 the United States had pledged itself to guarantee actual settlers about Vincennes in their titles to the lands they owned. To determine the lawful grants, instructions were issued to Governor St. Clair. He visited Vincennes, but before he could take any measures returned to Marietta, leaving

Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, to carry out the orders of Congress. He notified the inhabitants to appear and present their claims to lands. In his report to President Washington, under date of July 31, 1790, Mr. Sargent said:

“Although the lands and lots which were awarded to the inhabitants, appeared, from very good oral testimony, to belong to those persons to whom they were awarded, either by original grants, purchase, or inheritance, yet there was scarcely one case in twenty where the title was complete, owing to the desultory manner in which public business had been transacted, and some other unfortunate causes. The original concessions by the French and British commandants, were generally made upon small scraps of paper, which it had been customary to lodge in the notary’s office, who has seldom kept any book of record, but committed the most important land concerns, to loose sheets, which, in process of time, have come into possession of persons that have fraudulently destroyed them, or unacquainted with their consequence, innocently lost or trifled them away; for, by the French usage, they are considered as family inheritances, and often descend to women and children. In one instance, and during the government of Mr. St. Ange here, a royal notary ran off with all the public papers in his possession, as by a certificate produced to me. And I am very sorry further to observe that in the office of Mr. LeGrand, which continued from the year 1777 to 1787, and where should have been the vouchers for important land transactions, the records have been so falsified, and there is such gross fraud and forgery as to invalidate all evidence and information which I might otherwise have acquired from his papers.”

Mr. Sargent called upon the members of Mr. Todd's court to explain where they obtained authority to make land grants. To this the court replied as follows:

"Sir:—As you have given verbal orders to the magistrates who formerly composed the court of the district of Post Vincennes, under the jurisdiction of the State of Virginia, to give you their reasons for having taken upon them to grant concessions for the lands in the district, in obedience thereto, we beg leave to inform you that their principal reason is, that since the establishment of this country, the commandants have always appeared to be vested with the power to give lands. Their founder, Mr. Vincennes, began to give concessions, and all his successors have given lands and lots. Mr Legras was appointed commandant of Post Vincennes by the lieutenant of the county, John Todd, who was in the year 1779, sent by the State of Virginia to regulate the government of the country, and who substituted Mr. Legras to his power. In his absence Mr. Legras, who was then commandant, assumed that he had, in quality of commandant, authority to give lands according to the ancient usages of other commandants; and he verbally informed the court of Post Vincennes, that when they would judge it proper to give lands or lots to those who should come into the country to settle, or otherwise, they might do it; and that he gave them permission to do so. These are the reasons that we acted upon; and if we have done more than we ought, it was on account of the little knowledge which we had of public affairs."

These reasons did not prove satisfactory to Congress. The judges might plead an ignorance of public affairs, but they were certainly up in the matter of taking care of themselves.

As early as 1783 Congress began discussing the best methods of dividing the public lands by metes and bounds in order that they might more readily be conveyed to purchasers. Several propositions were submitted. On May 18, 1784, an ordinance was submitted to divide the lands into townships of ten miles square, each township to be divided into one hundred parts. In April, 1785, another ordinance was submitted making the townships seven miles square, and this was finally changed to six miles square, and adopted on the 20th of May, 1785. This ordinance is worthy of more than a passing notice, as within it is contained a section which forms the basis of the common school fund, of not only Indiana, but of the other States carved out of the territory northwest of the Ohio River. The land was to be divided by lines denominated Township and Range lines. After providing for the appointment of surveyors, and a Geographer, the ordinance says:

"The first line running north and south as aforesaid, shall begin on the river Ohio, at a point that shall be found to be due north from the western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; and the first line running east and west shall begin at the same point, and shall extend throughout the whole territory; provided, that nothing herein shall be construed as fixing the western boundary of the State of Pennsylvania. The geographer shall designate the townships or fractional townships, by numbers, progressively, from south to north—always beginning each range with No. 1; and the ranges shall be distinguished by their progressive numbers to the westward. The first range, extending from the Ohio to the Lake Erie, being marked No. 1. The geographer shall personally attend to the running of the first east and west line;

and shall take the latitude of the extremes of the first north and south line, and of the mouths of the principal rivers.

"The lines shall be measured with a chain; shall be plainly marked by chaps on the trees, and exactly described on a plat; whereon shall be noted by the surveyor, at their proper distances, all mines, salt springs, salt licks, and mill seats that shall come to his knowledge; and all water courses, mountains, and other remarkable and permanent things, over or near which such lines shall pass, and also the quality of the lands.

"The plats of the townships, respectively, shall be marked by subdivisions, into lots of one mile square, or six hundred and forty acres, in the same direction as the external lines, and numbered from one to thirty-six—always beginning the succeeding range of the lot with the number next to that with which the preceding one concluded. And where, from the causes before mentioned, only a fractional part of a township shall be surveyed, the lots protracted thereon shall bear the same number as if the township had been entire. And the surveyors, in running the external lines of the townships, shall, at the interval of every mile, mark corners for the lots which are adjacent, always designating the same in a different manner from those of the township.

"The geographer and surveyor shall pay the utmost attention to the variation of the magnetic needle, and shall run and note all lines by the true meridian, certifying with every plat what was the variation at the times of running the lines thereon noted.

"As soon as seven ranges of townships, and fractional parts of townships, in the direction of from south to north shall have been surveyed, the geographer shall transmit

plats thereof to the Board of Treasury who shall record the same, with a report, in a well bound book to be kept for that purpose. And the geographer shall make similar returns, from time to time, of every seven ranges, as they may be surveyed. The secretary of war shall have recourse thereto, and shall take by lot therefrom a number of townships and fractional parts of townships as well from those to be sold entire, as from those to be sold in lots, as will be equal to one-seventh part of the whole of such seven ranges, as nearly as may be, for the use of the late continental army; and he shall make a similar draught, from time to time, until a sufficient quantity is drawn to satisfy the same, to be applied in a manner hereinafter directed. The board of treasury shall, from time to time, cause the remaining numbers, as well those to be sold entire as those to be sold in lots, to be drawn for, in the name of the thirteen States, respectively, according to the quotas in the last preceding requisition on all the States; provided, that in case more lands than its proportion is allotted for sale in any State at any distribution, a deduction be made therefor at the next.

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“There shall be reserved for the United States out of every township, the four lots being numbered 8, 11, 26, 29, and out of every fractional part of a township, so many lots of the same numbers as shall be found thereon, for sale. There shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township; also, one-third part of all gold, silver, lead and copper mines, to be sold, or otherwise disposed of, as congress shall hereafter direct.”

After the government took possession of the territory northwest of the Ohio River, by the ordinance of 1787 some

of the land was put on the market, and a good deal was sold in Ohio, but it was not until after the year 1800 that buyers began to appear for land within the boundary of Indiana. In 1804 Congress established a board of commissioners to inquire into the validity of the titles or claims to the lands in Indiana Territory. Some of the settlers insisted they held their lands by virtue of grants or concessions from the Government of France; some from Indian grants, and others from grants made by the court at Vincennes established in 1799 by Colonel Todd, and still others because of occupancy and undisturbed possession. In 1788 Congress had passed a resolution confirming in their possessions and titles the French, Canadian, and other inhabitants, who were heads of families, and settlers about Vincennes and in the Illinois country, on or before the year 1783, and who had professed themselves citizens of the United States or any of them. This had been followed by an act of Congress in 1791 confirming the title of each claimant of lands, not exceeding four hundred acres at Vincennes, or in the Illinois country, in all cases where such lands were held, improved and cultivated under a supposed grant made by any commandant or court claiming authority to make grants of lands. By this act the Governor of the Territory was authorized to grant a quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, to each person who had not obtained any grant of land from the United States, and who, on the 1st of August, 1790, was enrolled in the militia at Vincennes, or in the Illinois country, and had performed militia duty.

Governor St. Clair, under the authority conveyed by this act, made grants, and confirmed the titles of the settlers around Vincennes. When the Territory was divided, in 1800, this authority was exercised by Governor Harrison, until

the act of 1804 was passed, when it was transferred to the registers and receivers of the land offices established by that act. For several years the land offices had much trouble with fraudulent claimants, but those who had legal claims had their titles confirmed. The town of Vincennes had always claimed a large tract of land as having been given by the Indians for the use of the inhabitants in common, and in 1818 the trustees of the town were authorized to divide this tract into lots and to sell the same, the proceeds to be used for the paying of the expenses of draining a pond in the vicinity of the town, and the residue to be given to the Vincennes University.

At different times the Government made large grants of land to the State of Indiana for various purposes. The following table shows the extent of these grants and the purposes for which made

	Acres.
For common schools (sixteenth section).....	631,863.71
For university, college or seminary, by act of	
April 19, 1816... ..	46,080.00
For Michigan road, by act of March 2, 1827.....	170,582.20
For Wabash and Erie Canal, by acts of March 2,	
1827, Feb. 27, 1841, and March 3, 1845.....	1,439,279.41
For permanent seat of Government, by act of	
March 3, 1819.....	2,560.00
Swamp lands, by act of September 28, 1850.....	1,209,422.09
Saline land, by act of April 19, 1816.....	24,235.58
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>3,524,022.99</b>



## CHAPTER XI.

### INTRODUCTION OF CHURCHES.

For the most part the early settlers of Indiana were men and women of high moral rectitude. Many of them had been church members in their old homes, while others had been morally trained to fear and reverence God. Except the few families at Vincennes, there was but little attempt to settle the Territory until the beginning of the nineteenth century. So it was not until after that year churches were introduced, with the single exception of the French Catholic Church at Vincennes. Almost with the first traders and trappers who passed through what is now the State of Indiana, came the French Missionaries from Canada. There is no certain data as to when they made their first appearance, but before the trading post had been established at Vincennes there is evidence that they had been laboring among the Indians of the Miami Confederacy. They frequently visited the French settlement at Vincennes and the trading posts at Ouiatenon and on the St. Joseph. They were earnest, courageous and self-sacrificing. They felt that their great mission on earth was to carry the story of the Cross to the savage tribes, and no danger, no hardships, were great enough to discourage them, nor any journey too long for them to take. They went fearlessly among the Indians. and dwelt years among them without seeing a civi-

lized face. As early as 1749, a Catholic Church was established at Vincennes, by Rev. S. L. Meurin. The records of the church commence on the 21st day of April of that year. For more than half a century this was the only church in Indiana. The first Protestant sermon preached in Vincennes was not until 1810. The preacher was Rev. William Winans, a young preacher of the Methodist denomination. Vincennes was in his "circuit," and when he appeared at that place he found neither church, church members nor congregation. He secured a room and made an appointment to preach at night. Night came, and with it the young preacher, General William Henry Harrison, then Governor of the Territory, and a young army lieutenant.

That was all the congregation. It is said that the room contained no table or stand upon which to place the solitary candle, and General Harrison held it in his hand while the preacher read his hymn and lessons. It was a small congregation, but the preacher preached as if he had a crowded audience. Mr. Winans afterward rose to high distinction in his church. Of the early English speaking settlers, some were Methodists, some Baptists, some Presbyterians and some Quakers, the Methodists predominating. With the exception of the church mentioned at Vincennes, there were no church buildings in the State, and for several years whatever service was held was either in the cabins of the settlers or in the groves during the summer and fall. Preaching was very rare, only at great intervals would a preacher pass through the settlements. When one did reach those frontier posts he was sure of a cordial welcome and an attentive hearing. Some of the cabins were quite large and would readily accommodate a congregation of fifty or even of one hundred worshippers. When a preacher would arrive, it

mattered little what peculiar denomination he belonged to, word was sent around the "neighborhood," announcing a time and place for preaching, and all who could, would attend promptly. In those early days the sermons were from an hour to an hour and a half long, and sometimes they even stretched out to two hours, and the fervor of the preacher was equal to the length of his discourses. None of the congregation ever complained about a sermon being too long. They were hungry for the word, and listened to it gladly. Then the Bible was the only text book for the preacher. He did not deal with "strikes," "labor troubles," "trusts," or politics. He was content to preach the riches of the Gospel and reach the hearts of his hearers with its truths.

What Protestant denomination was the first to establish regular preaching in the State has been a matter of dispute, and is about as hard to determine as to settle upon the author of "Beautiful Snow." The weight of authority is in favor of the Methodists. According to their authorities, Rev. Benjamin Lakin, traveling Salt River "Circuit," in Kentucky, crossed the river into what is now Clark County, and occasionally preached to the people. His efforts were so successful that in 1802 a log church was erected about two miles from the present site of the town of Charlestown. That church is still standing, although not now used for worship. It is said that the first regular preacher in charge was Rev. Moses Ashworth. If so, he must have been sent from Kentucky. The first circuit formed in Indiana was in 1807, and was called "Whitewater Circuit," and was attached to the Ohio district. Rev. Joseph Williams was the preacher in charge. The circuit embraced all of Indiana, and in 1808 Mr. Williams reported that there were but one hundred and

sixty members of the Methodist church within the bounds of his circuit.

Prior to that time Rev. Hugh Cull, a "local preacher" of the Methodists had moved into the Territory, settling in what is now Wayne County. He gathered around him his neighbors and preached to them until "regular" preaching could be established. He formed a "class" in his neighborhood, and it has been claimed this was the first organization of Methodists in the State, but it must give way to the claim of the church near Charlestown.

The Baptists and the Presbyterians set up a claim to having the first organized church in the Territory, and two places contest for this honor. It is claimed by the Presbyterians that the "Upper Indiana Church," was organized in 1801, in a barn, one and a half miles north of Vincennes, by the Rev. Samuel B. Robinson, a missionary from Kentucky. It did not have a church building until 1815, and there are no records preserved of the organization of an earlier date than 1812, although there is a tradition that John Scott Harrison, brother of General William Henry Harrison, was the first to be received into membership by baptism. The church organization still remains, but the old edifice long ago gave place to a new and more commodious one. In the cemetery adjoining the church lie buried sixty or more soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary War.

The Baptist claim antedates that of the Presbyterians by two years. They claim that the Charlestown Baptist Church was organized in November 1798 and the first meeting after the organization was held in the February following. The organization consisted of four persons, but in July, 1799, three more were added. A church building was erected on Silver Creek, in 1804.

These are the claims as to the establishment of the first Protestant Church. As to which was first in the field it matters little. That all three began their labors soon after settlers began to make homes for themselves in the Territory is certain, and it is also certain that they labored faithfully and well. The Rev. Hugh Cull mentioned, lived in Wayne County until his death which occurred when he had reached the age of one hundred and five years. He was a member of the convention in 1816 which framed the first constitution of the State. In 1808 the Methodists erected their second church in the Territory, in "Meek's Grove," in what is now Wayne County. All those early church buildings were of the rudest sort. The people were very poor, and the settlements were far apart. The people lived in rude log cabins and the meeting houses were built out of logs. The floors were of puncheons, and the only light came from spaces made by cutting out parts of one or more logs. This rude log house in Wayne County, and the two near Charlestown, were the pioneers of the Protestant churches in Indiana, and were used as places of worship for several years.

The first preachers had a hard time of it. There were no roads, except "blazed" bridle paths, through much of the country. The streams were unbridged, and those early dispensers of the gospel traveled the country with their guns on their shoulders, to defend themselves from both beasts and men. The people had no money to pay salaries with, and their work was one of love. The Baptists and Disciples soon followed the Methodists, and later came the Presbyterians, Quakers and Episcopalians. The first campmeeting held in the bounds of the State, of which any authentic trace can be found, was held in Wayne County, in the fall of 1810. For many years thereafter campmeetings were favorite sea-

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sons, especially with the Methodists, although they were by no means confined to that denomination. They would generally last a week, and would be attended by hundreds, some of them traveling great distances, as distances were counted in those days. It was no uncommon thing then for people to ride ten, fifteen and even twenty miles, on horseback to attend regular preaching. There can be no doubt that much of the prosperity and growth of Indiana is due to the character of those early missionaries of the Cross who traversed its wilderness preaching and teaching. The various denominations were early in the field battling for the cause of education, and all have for many years supported educational institutions of high character. They have been first in every laudable enterprise. To-day Indiana has as great church seating capacity to its population as any State in the Union.

## CHAPTER XII.

### CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Under the American system the government of a State is apparently a very simple affair, but, after all, it is intricate and complex. The people being the fountain of power the whole government in reality rests with them. It is good, bad, or indifferent, as they determine. The State is divided and subdivided into so many different departments, or sections of governmental administration, that while the powers and duties of each department or section are simple and easily understood, the whole makes a complex system. By the constitution the administration of the affairs of the State is divided between three separate branches, which are said to be co-ordinate. They are the executive, legislative and judicial. The Governor is the head of the executive department. Upon him is devolved the great duty of seeing that the laws are executed, peace maintained, and that the rights of individuals in certain cases are protected. He only joins in legislation in that the power of veto is given him, but as it only requires the same number of votes in each House of the General Assembly to pass a bill over a veto, that was required for its original passage, the veto power is practically useless. In this the Governor is on a very different footing from a President of the United States. In Congress it requires an affirmative vote of two-thirds of

the members present to pass a bill over the veto of the President. This places in the hands of the President a very decided and powerful check on legislation. In Indiana the veto of the Governor amounts only to an expression of his opinion upon the proposed legislation.

The Governor is Commander-in-Chief of the militia of the State, and when he deems it necessary, can call the militia into active service, for the suppression of disorder, or the enforcement of the laws. This is a terrible power, for evil, if a Governor should be disposed to so use it. It is true that the use of the militia is guarded somewhat by the law, but still the power is in its nature arbitrary. The Governor commissions all the officers of the militia, and through the Adjutant-General issues all orders for their employment. When called into active service, at the request of any civil officer, the order to fire upon a mob or riotous assemblage must be given by the civil officer at whose suggestion the militia were called out. They may be called into service at any time when any tumult or riot exists, or a mob threatens to commit any violence to persons or property, or to break any law of the State or of the United States, or when it is deemed that such violence is contemplated. As the State fills with population the occasions for the service of the militia increase in frequency. In the early history of the Territory and State the militia were frequently used to pursue marauding parties of Indians, but after the disappearance of the Indians, they were not called again into service until the war of the rebellion, when the force was increased to about fifty thousand men. During the war they were much in active service.

The first use of the militia for the suppression of violence and the protection of property was during the administra-



tion of Governor Hendricks. Since that time the troops have been called out for similar purposes on several occasions.

The Governor is also clothed with the pardoning power. Around the use of this power no guards are thrown. He can pardon absolute, reprieve or commute punishments, or remit portions as he deems proper, except in cases of treason or impeachments. Of late years there has grown up a custom of "paroles." That is, the Governor will issue a conditional pardon, based upon the good conduct of the paroled party. Sometimes the parole is granted on the agreement that the party, during the time of the parole shall refrain from the use of intoxicating liquors. If he violates the conditions of the parole he can be arrested and returned to prison to serve out his sentence. The Governor is required to report to the General Assembly all pardons, remissions or commutations granted by him, together with the causes which induced him to exercise clemency. He also issues writs of requisition upon the Governors of other States for the arrest and return of fugitives from justice, and grants similar requisitions made upon him.

He is also clothed by the Legislature with making certain appointments in the administrative departments, such as trustees or commissioners of the benevolent institutions. He fills by appointment all vacancies occurring in any State office, including Judges of the various Courts and Prosecuting Attorneys. Vacancies occurring in the Legislature, or in members of the Congressional House of Representatives, are filled by elections specially called for that purpose by the Governor. If a vacancy occurs in the United States Senate, when the General Assembly is not in session, the Governor can appoint. Those appointed to fill

vacancies only hold until the next general election, when their successors are duly chosen; in cases of appointments to the United States Senate they hold until the next session of the General Assembly. He has power to convoke the General Assembly at any time in special session, and under certain circumstances to change its place of meeting.

On the death, resignation or disability of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor assumes his duties. An interesting legal question arises over vacancies in the office of Lieutenant Governor. The constitution provides that the Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be elected for a term of four years, and also prescribes the time at which their term of office shall begin. Repeated vacancies have occurred in the office of Lieutenant Governor, and the office remained unfilled, except so far as a President of the Senate was concerned. If that body should meet while such a vacancy existed, it would elect a presiding officer from among its own members. No trouble occurred by such vacancies until 1886. The Lieutenant Governor that year resigned to accept a place under the Federal Government. The question was opened if it was not the duty of the people to elect a Lieutenant Governor. It was held by some of the State officers, including the Governor, that the vacancy was one the people should fill, and candidates for that office were voted for at the ensuing general election. The matter got into the courts, but the main question was never determined. The question has also been mooted, if the power of appointment in case of vacancy does not lie with the Governor. The constitution gives him authority to appoint when a vacancy occurs in any State office. The point has never been raised before any court, and its determination would doubtless hang on the question as to whether a

Lieutenant Governor is a State officer in the meaning of the constitution.

#### THE LEGISLATURE.

The legislative authority of the State is vested in the General Assembly, which consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. Under the constitution the Senate shall consist of not more than fifty members, and the House of not more than one hundred. The Senators are elected for a term of four years and the Representatives for two. The Senators are divided into two classes, the terms of one-half expiring every two years. Each House elects its own officers, with the exception of President of the Senate, the duties of that office devolving upon the Lieutenant Governor. In case of his absence, or inability to serve, from any cause, or there being a vacancy in that office, the Senate can elect a President pro tempore. Each House is the sole judge of the election and return of its own members. Bills may originate in either House, with the single exception that all bills for raising a revenue must originate in the House of Representatives. By common consent that body is also charged with originating the various appropriation bills. Bills having passed one House may be amended in the other. By a provision of the constitution, two-thirds of all the members must be present in either House to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. A majority vote of those present is enough for all purposes except on the final passage of a bill, when it must receive a majority of all the members, *i. e.*, in the Senate it must receive twenty-six votes, and in the House fifty-one. Bills must be read on three separate days in each House, but a vote of two-thirds of all the members may suspend the rule

for the purpose of reading a bill more than once on the same day. Bills passed must be presented to the Governor for his approval or rejection. He must either approve or return the bill with his objections within three days (Sundays excepted), unless he is prevented so doing by the adjournment of the General Assembly, or the bill becomes a law without his signature. If prevented by an adjournment from returning a bill he must within five days file the bill with the Secretary of State with his objections, or it becomes a law. No bill can be presented to the Governor within two days next preceding the final adjournment. The Governor can, and often has waived this right, and accepted bills passed on the last day of the session.

Seventeen cases are enumerated in the constitution wherein the Legislature is forbidden to enact special laws. In all those cases, and whenever practicable in all others, all laws must be general and of uniform operation throughout the State. The clause requiring all laws to be general created great confusion, and gave rise to much litigation for many years after the adoption of the constitution. Of late years the courts have been taking a much more liberal view of the question than was formerly done. It has been held that upon all questions not within the seventeen prohibited cases, the Legislature is the sole judge as to whether a general law can be made applicable, or meet the necessities of the occasion, and that its action is not subject to review by the courts. The Supreme Court has also held that an amendment to a general law may be special in its operation, and yet not be in violation of the constitution. Owing to what may be well termed under the enlarged rulings of the last few years, judicial vagaries, for many years after the adoption of the present constitution the Legislature had

hard work to enact laws that would stand the test of the courts. Under the new, and confessedly better, interpretations of the organic law, the Legislature has found itself much less hampered, and as a result many laws of great moment to the prosperity of the State and the rights of the people have been enacted.

#### THE JUDICIARY.

The other great co-ordinate branch of the State Government is the Judicial. By the terms of the constitution the judicial power of the State is vested in a Supreme Court, in Circuit Courts, and in such other courts as the General Assembly may establish. Originally the constitution used the phrase "such other inferior courts," but the word "inferior" was stricken out by an amendment adopted March 14, 1881. In general terms the courts have the power to construe the laws that may be enacted by the General Assembly, as to their relations to corporations, or individuals, and to the constitution, both of the State and of the United States. At one time there grew up in the courts a custom to declare unconstitutional every law which was not so plainly within the powers of the General Assembly to enact, that no doubt of its constitutionality could possibly exist. That custom has been overturned, and now the rule is to resolve all doubts in favor of the law. The rule is thus laid down by the Supreme Court: "The power to declare a statute unconstitutional is one of the highest intrusted to a judicial tribunal, and is only to be exercised with the greatest care, and only when there is no doubt as to the constitutionality of the law. If there is any doubt in the mind of the Court as to the constitutionality of a law it must be resolved in favor of its validity. To doubt is to resolve in favor of the

constitutionality of the law." It is this power given to the courts to pass upon the constitutionality of statutes which makes the judicial a co-ordinate branch of the State government. Were it otherwise the courts would only be a subordinate part of the State machinery. At various times fears have been created that the courts, by usurping power, might actually dominate the Legislative branch, but in Indiana, especially of late years, the tendency of the decisions have been towards supporting the powers of the Legislature.

The courts have the power to grant injunctions restraining persons and corporations from doing certain specified acts, and recently a Judge of the United States Court issued a sweeping restraining order against the city of Indianapolis, and even against the State itself, whereby the officers of the State were forbidden to enforce an act duly passed by the Legislature. The courts also exercise the power to step in and protect the rights of creditors and individual stockholders of corporations, by appointing "receivers" to take possession of the property of the corporation and manage it under the direction of the court. Without this power the creditors and small stockholders of corporations would be at the mercy of any combination holding the majority of the stock. This power grows in importance as the State grows in wealth and population. Now very few large enterprises are carried on by individuals, in their individual capacity, but through the means of incorporated companies. The laws are favorable to the formation of incorporated companies, and if the power to prevent waste of the property was not lodged somewhere, the holder of the minority stock, and the honest creditor would be subject to great loss.

**ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS.**

Originally the administrative powers of the State were exercised by a Secretary, Auditor and Treasurer of State. These are the only three administrative State offices named in the constitution, but in 1855 the Legislature created the office of Attorney-General, the first incumbent being elected by the General Assembly. Subsequently the offices of State Geologist and Superintendent of Statistics were created, and by a decision of the Supreme Court were declared to be State offices, to be filled by the voters of the State as other State offices are filled. By the constitution all State officers are required to reside at Indianapolis during their incumbency.

The Secretary of State is the keeper of the great seal of the State, and is required to attest and fix the seal of the State to all commissions, pardons, and other public instruments to which the signature of the Governor is required. In his office all the laws enacted by the General Assembly are kept, together with the articles of incorporation of incorporated companies, and the official bonds of the other State officers. He superintends the printing and distribution of the laws enacted at each session of the Legislature, and is a member of the Printing Commission, and of the State Board of Tax Commissioners.

The Auditor of State is the keeper of the public accounts, and it is through him that all moneys are paid out of the State Treasury. He examines and liquidates all claims against the State, and adjusts and settles all accounts. He also has charge of all the land records of the State. Connected with his office is an Insurance Department, and a Bank Department. All insurance companies transacting

business in this State are required to report to the Auditor, showing the true condition of the company. All banks of deposit, and of savings, organized under the laws of the State are also required to report to the Auditor and he has the authority to cause examinations to be made into the conditions of any of the banks, or savings institutions, and to take possession of them at any time he has reason to believe they are insolvent.

The Treasurer of State is the custodian of the funds of the State which he only disburses upon warrants drawn by the Auditor. He is required to publish monthly a statement of the condition of the various funds in the treasury.

The Attorney-General is the law officer of the State, and is required to prosecute and defend all suits that may be instituted by or against the State, when required to do so by the Governor or other State officers. He is also required to prosecute all criminal cases that are taken before the Supreme Court. He is also charged with the duty of collecting certain moneys found to be due the State.

These officers are elected for a term of two years. The State Geologist has, in addition to his duties in connection with the geological survey of the State, supervisory control over the mines, the sale of petroleum, for domestic use, and a general watchfulness over the wasting of the supply of natural gas.

The constitution provides for the election of a State Superintendent of Public Instruction, a Clerk of the Supreme Court and a Reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court, but they are not, in the full sense of the word administrative officers. The Superintendent of Public Instruction has a general oversight of the Schools of the State and his office is one of the greatest moment to the people.



The Clerk of the Supreme Court keeps the records of the Court, and the papers filed in the various causes. The Reporter prepares for publication the decisions rendered by the Court.

#### COUNTIES.

The Counties each have control over their own affairs, elect their own officers and levy and collect their own taxes. The prudential affairs are under the management of a Board of County Commissioners, consisting of three members, which meets quarterly. They have direct charge of the public buildings of the County, erect and maintain bridges, grant licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors, and examine and pay claims against the County. Under certain circumstances they can vote aid for the construction of railroads, and levy taxes for the same. Formerly their power to contract debts in the name of the County was unlimited, but in 1881 the constitution of the State was so amended as to forbid the incurring of debts to an excess of two per centum of the value of the taxable wealth in the County. They are required to support the infirm poor of the County. They locate and open all roads through the County, and, in general terms have an oversight of all matters affecting the public interest. The office of County Commissioner is one of the most important in the State, for he has to do especially with the interests of the people. Upon the Commissioners depend the wise and judicious use of the money raised by taxation, and the burdens of the people are made heavy or light as the Commissioners are honest and able men. It is true that circumstances sometimes compel the laying of burdens on the people, in the way of taxation, over which the Commissioners have no control, but under all circumstances they can add to or take away from those bur-

dens, as they are extravagant and careless, or prudent and economical in the management of affairs. They are the direct representatives of the people, and are answerable to them alone for their management of public affairs.

The officers of the County are: Auditor, Sheriff, Clerk of the Court, Treasurer and Recorder. The Auditor is charged with the duty of auditing all the accounts of the County. In other words he is the bookkeeper of the County. He draws all warrants on the County Treasurer, and makes a record of all the proceedings of the Board of Commissioners. He makes out the tax duplicate for the Treasurer and charges him with the aggregate taxes charged on the duplicate, giving him credit for the amount returned by him as having been collected.

The Sheriff is the executive officer of the Courts, and is required to execute all writs issued by the Courts. The Clerk of the Courts keeps the records of the same and issues all writs ordered. The Clerk is the custodian of the seal of the Court as the Auditor is of that of the County. The Treasurer is charged with the duty of collecting the taxes levied by the State and the County and Townships, and is the custodian of the funds. He pays over to the State its proportion of the amount collected, and disburses County funds on the warrants issued by the Auditor, and those of the Townships on the warrant of the Trustee. The Recorder records all deeds and mortgages on lands in the County, trade marks, etc.

The Counties are divided into Townships. Each Township elects a Trustee, who has control of the affairs of the Township as the Board of Commissioners has of those of the County. He makes and repairs the roads, erects and maintains the school buildings, employs teachers, and has an

oversight of the poor. He is also inspector of elections. With the concurrence of the Board of County Commissioners he levies a tax on the property in his Township for Township, road and other purposes. What the Board of Commissioners is to the County the Trustee is to the Township. It is the nearest office to the people, as he is chosen by his immediate neighbors. The office is frequently looked upon as a small one, because its area of official duties is circumscribed, but it is, in reality, one of great importance and responsibility. Having the authority to employ the teachers in the public schools, he can wield a lasting influence, good or bad, according to the character of the teachers he employs. Upon his activity and judgment the Township is dependent for the condition of the roads, and of the school buildings. Careless or inefficient, the roads will be neglected, the school houses left in bad repair; careful and efficient the character of the Township is changed.

The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Clerk of the Supreme Court, Reporter of the Supreme Court and State Geologist are elected for a term of four years; all other State officers for two years. They are only eligible for re-election for an additional term, until after the expiration of one full term. The Governor is not eligible for re-election until after the expiration of one term. County Commissioners are elected for three years, Auditors, Clerks and Recorders for four years; Sheriffs and Treasurers for two. Township Trustees are elected for four years. No satisfactory reason has ever been advanced for this difference in the terms of the various officers, or why a Clerk, Auditor or Recorder should be permitted to serve eight years consecutively, while a Sheriff and Treasurer can only serve four years.

Formerly nearly all County and State officers were paid

by fees and a salary. Now they are all paid by salaries. In Counties the pay is graded according to the population and business transacted. The Counties are divided into several classes, and the salaries attached are for officers in Counties of that class. No question has been more perplexing to legislators than that of fees and salaries. It is not certain that the best solution of the question has been reached. The Counties are so unequal in point of population and business transacted, that what would be a fair salary in one might be totally inadequate in another, or it might be much greater than the value of the service rendered. Counties have suffered in both directions. Under the old system where the emoluments of the office were large, thereby causing a struggle for its possession, corrupt men have sometimes been elected. On the other hand, where the emoluments have been inadequate the people have been unable to secure good men. An impression has grown up that salaries in public offices should not be greater than the same services would demand and receive in private business. This is a false theory, and would lead to filling the offices with incompetent or careless persons. For the transaction of public business the people have a right to the services of the most competent, and to secure that class the emoluments must be such as to induce them to leave private business and engage in that of the public.

Popular favor, and consequently, the tenure of public office is always uncertain; then, by the constitution the tenure of certain offices is limited. The man who leaves his private business and enters upon that of the public, for two, four, or even eight years, is at the close of his term, be it long or short, just that far outrun by those engaged in his former occupation, and, as a rule, always has his private

business to again build up. Other burdens are placed upon him by the public, which ought to be made good if competent and trustworthy men are secured to fill the offices. The above reasons, and many others operate to throw at least a doubt as to whether the best solution of the salary question has been found. At any rate, future Legislatures may expect to have it up before them.

#### MUNICIPALITIES.

For the first thirty-five years of the State's existence, there was no general law for the incorporation of towns and cities. Cities desiring charters went before the Legislature and special charters were granted. These varied as the desires of the people varied. After the adoption of the present constitution, a general law for the incorporation of towns and cities was enacted, and most of the cities holding special charters surrendered them and accepted the conditions of the general law. One or two, however, held on to their special privileges for a number of years. When the cities were small, and the business interests limited, it was easy to govern them, but as they grew in population, and business enterprises multiplied, many of them seeking franchises, the question of the powers and the rights of the city authorities became a very grave one. In the beginning city authorities were so anxious to secure new enterprises that they gave franchises with a liberal hand, and made their provisions exceedingly liberal to those seeking them. Thus the rights to establish and maintain, using the streets for such purposes, water works, gas plants, telegraphic and telephone lines, and street railways were freely given without requiring in return adequate protection to the interests of the general public.

At first these franchises were not very valuable, and no one thought of requiring a consideration for them, but cities in Indiana grew very rapidly in population after the close of the war, and especially after the discovery of natural gas. As the cities grew in population the corporations holding franchises, discovering their value, grew in rapacity, and a contest between the two sprung up. Telegraphic business grew to such great proportions that in many of the cities all the principal streets were blockaded by the wires. Then came the telephone and added its wire network. Having been permitted to enter upon the occupancy of the streets without objection, in many cases the corporations assumed to occupy them to the deprivation or serious injury of the general public.

Another perplexing question in cities was the control of the fire and police departments. Politics entered into their control, often to such an extent as to seriously cripple their efficiency. They were used as machines for the perpetuation of party power, and while all the people were forced to contribute to their maintenance they were the tools of only the majority party. Added to these things the question of public health and sanitation became an important one. The first attempt to change the existing order as to the police departments, was made under the pretense of lifting the departments of some of the larger cities out of party control, but was, in reality, only a scheme to plunge them more deeply into the mire, only changing the directing power. Succeeding Legislatures have amended the laws, until now, in all cities having more than 10,000 inhabitants, and less than 100,000 the police department is under the control of a Board of Commissioners appointed by the Governor, and the power to discharge men from the force is

limited. In Indianapolis, the only city having a population greater than 100,000, the police board is appointed by the Mayor, and is called the Board of Public Safety.

Cities cannot grant charters to corporations, but can determine the conditions upon which they may occupy the streets of the city, and under a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the State, can fix the time when such occupation shall cease. A vast amount of litigation has arisen between corporations and cities. The most notable cases have been in Indianapolis. There, for several years, a contest was waged between the city authorities and a company operating a street railway system. There was great uncertainty as to the powers actually possessed by a city over a corporation operating under the general law of the State. This power has now been pretty well defined by recent decisions of the Supreme Court.

Cities have the right to own and operate their own water and light plants, and some of the smaller cities do so own and operate them. The policy of municipal ownership of such public institutions has not yet been demonstrated so as to satisfy all opposition to it. Several times it has entered into municipal campaigns and political parties have divided upon it.

Cities have the authority to levy and collect taxes for municipal purposes, such as maintaining the police, fire and other departments, and making and repairing streets. They can also enact and enforce ordinances for the preservation of public health, regulate the construction of public buildings, provide for the lighting and cleaning of streets, and provide generally for the government of the municipality. Their powers are limited by the statutes of the State, and the municipal authorities can only exercise such powers as are expressly conferred by the Legislature.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT SYSTEM.

As early as 1825, under the administration of Governor James B. Ray, the people of Indiana began agitating the question of entering upon an extensive series of internal improvements, which were to include turnpikes, canals and railroads. Railroads were just then beginning to attract attention in the Eastern States and the great Erie Canal had been just completed. Indiana was a growing State, but its facilities for getting to market the surplus products of the State were very limited. The only market it could then reach was that of the South, and to get there the people had to depend upon flatboats and a few steamboats which were just beginning to make their appearance on the Ohio River. Flatboats would be built in the various streams which emptied into the White, Wabash and Ohio Rivers, be loaded with the surplus products of the farms and wait for a freshet which would carry them to the Ohio River, and thence south. These freshets would occur in the spring and fall seasons, but the navigation of the interior streams was at all times dangerous and doubtful. Counties bordering on the Ohio River were the fortunate ones, because at almost any time a flatboat, loaded with farm products, could be shoved out into the stream and floated to New Orleans, but the interior settlements were practically cut off from a



market except in the spring and fall. They must have a market or practically starve. Governor Ray saw this peculiar state of affairs and the necessity for such improvements, and in his message to the Legislature in 1825, said: "On the construction of roads and canals, we must rely as the safest and most certain State policy, to relieve our situation, place us among the first States in the Union and change the cry of hard times into an open acknowledgment of contentedness."

Four years later, while discussing the same subject, he used the following language: "This subject though more than once pressed upon the attention of the Legislature, can never grow irksome. Since it must be the source of the blessings of civilized life, to secure its benefits is a duty enjoined upon the Legislature by the obligations of a social compact." It was not until 1836, however, that the State finally entered upon the work of constructing roads, canals and railroads, and in the end it proved a very unfortunate speculation for the State. Before the State had engaged in this general system, it had entered, at the instigation of the General Government, upon the construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal. In the year 1827, the Federal Government gave to Indiana a large grant of land to aid in the construction of a canal to connect Lake Erie with the Wabash River. To build such a canal would necessitate an entry into the borders of the State of Ohio and a portion of the grant made by the General Government was surrendered to Ohio on the condition that she would construct the canal from the eastern boundary line of Indiana to the lake. This canal was to extend from the eastern State line to some point on the lower Wabash, where that stream might be navigable, or to Evansville, where the Ohio River might be

reached. The State at once began work upon the canal. It was commenced under the administration of Governor Noble. In 1832 thirty-two miles of this canal were placed under contract. Governor Noble addressed a communication to the Governor of Ohio requesting him to call the attention of the Legislature of that State to the subject of the extension of the canal from the Indiana line through the territory of Ohio to the Lakes. The Ohio Governor laid the matter before the Legislature of his State, and resolutions were adopted by that body that if Ohio should ultimately decline to undertake the completion of the work in her borders, the lands would be turned over to Indiana for the purpose of sale, that the work might be done under the supervision of Indiana.

In 1834 Governor Noble in urging the work of improvements in one of his messages to the Legislature said: "With a view of engaging in the work of internal improvements the propriety of adopting a general plan or system, having reference to the several portions of the State, and the connection of one to the other, naturally suggests itself. No work should be commenced but such as would be of acknowledged public utility, and when complete would form a branch of some general system." During the years 1834 and 1835 work on the Wabash and Erie Canal was pushed forward with great energy. The middle division, extending from St. Joseph River to the forks of the Wabash, was completed in 1835 at a cost of \$230,000. This line was opened for navigation on the 4th of July, 1843, with great display. In 1836 the Legislature passed a law providing for a general system of improvements, to be carried on under a board of internal improvements, and surveys by competent engineers were begun on the various works provided for.

The passage of this act caused great rejoicing throughout the State and everywhere meetings were held, to give expression to the general feeling of joy. At Indianapolis the citizens illuminated their houses while bonfires blazed in all the streets. The people went wild; they saw an era of prosperity opening before them that would drive poverty from the land and make all men rich. It was expected and believed that the revenues the State would enjoy from the various works would not only make taxation unnecessary, but fill the State coffers to overflowing. A period of wild speculation ensued. Those who owned one farm bought others, and those who owned none went into debt and purchased one. Trading of all kinds became active. The illusion only lasted a few months, and then the reverse side of the picture came, with bankruptcy, distress and ruin. The works provided for in the act of 1836 consisted of the following:

- 1.—The Whitewater canal, to commence on the west branch of the Whitewater River, at the crossing of the National road; thence passing down the valley of the same to the Ohio River at Lawrenceburg, and extending up the west branch of the Whitewater above the National road as far as may be practicable; also a connection between the said Whitewater canal, and the Central canal, by a canal, if practicable, if not by a railroad, to commence at some point near the National road, thence to be continued to some suitable point on said Central canal in Madison or Delaware Counties, as the same may be found most practicable and the best calculated to promote the interests of the State. For this work the sum of \$1,400,000 was appropriated. It was provided that if the State of Ohio declined to consent to the construction of that part of the canal which would lie in her ter-

ritory, then the commissioners were to construct a railroad from some point near Harrison to Lawrenceburg, wholly within the territorial limits of Indiana, and were to pay for said road out of the money appropriated for the canal.

2.—The Central canal, to commence at the most suitable point on the Wabash and Erie canal, between Fort Wayne and Logansport, running thence to Muncietown; thence to Indianapolis; thence down the valley of the west fork of White River, to its junction with the east fork of said river, and thence by the most practicable route to Evansville on the Ohio River. It was provided, however, that the Board of Internal Improvements might, if it was found most practicable and conducive to the interests of the State, select the lower, or Pipe Creek route, in the line north from Indianapolis. In that case a “feeder” was to be made to Muncietown, and to connect with the said Central canal at some convenient point on the same. The feeder was to be of equal size and capacity as the main canal, and made equally convenient for the purposes of navigation, and be constructed simultaneously with the main canal, and in all respects to be provided for in like manner with the same. For this work the sum of \$3,500,000 was appropriated.

3.—An extension of the Wabash and Erie canal from the mouth of Tippecanoe River, down the valley of the Wabash to Terre Haute, and thence by the route surveyed on Eel river, so as to connect with the Central canal at the point designated in the said survey, or else by the most practicable route from Terre Haute so as to connect with the Central canal at or near the mouth of Black Creek, in Knox County, or at some intermediate point between said points, as shall in a future survey and examination of said route, be found most conducive to the public good. For this work \$1,300,000 were appropriated.

4.—A railroad from Madison, through Columbus, Indianapolis and Crawfordsville to Lafayette. Appropriation, \$1,300,000.

5.—A Macadamized turnpike road from New Albany, through Greenville, thence as near to Fredricksburgh as should be found practicable, having in view the expense of construction and the public accommodation, through Paoli, Mt. Pleasant and Washington to Vincennes. Appropriation, \$1,150,000.

6.—To cause a re-survey of the route from Jeffersonville, via New Albany and Salem, Bedford, Bloomington and Greencastle to Crawfordsville, and if found practicable to construct a railroad on said route. If not found practicable for a railroad, then a turnpike was to be built, beginning at Salem. Appropriation, \$1,300,000.

7.—To improve the Wabash River from Vincennes to its mouth. Appropriation, \$50,000.

8.—To survey and estimate the cost for a canal, if practicable, and if not, for a railroad, from the Wabash and Erie canal, at or near Fort Wayne, by the way of Goshen and South Bend, and Laporte, if practicable, to Lake Michigan, at or near Michigan City, to be called the Erie and Michigan canal, or railroad. The faith of the State was irrevocably pledged to construct this canal or railroad within ten years.

It will be seen that the system entered upon was not only very elaborate, but all parts of the State, and many of the towns, had to be accommodated.

The whole length of these roads and canals was more than 1,200 miles, and the total estimated cost aggregated nearly \$20,000,000. To enter upon these improvements the State issued and sold bonds to the amount of \$10,-

000,000. It was soon discovered that the State had entered upon a series of enterprises which it could never carry out, and had burdened the people with a debt amounting to more than \$18,000,000. The Wabash and Erie canal was completed as far as Lafayette and was in constant use, furnishing transportation for all the surplus product of that section of the State through which it run, but the receipts from tolls were not enough to maintain it, and to pay the interest on the cost. The country was too new for such an extensive work. A part of the work was done upon all the canals and roads projected. The White Water Canal was opened for navigation from Lawrenceburg to Connersville. The Madison and Indianapolis Railroad was finally completed and the State sold its stock for a great deal less money than it had expended on the work, which amounted to \$1,492,000.

The financial distress which swept over the country in 1837 finally compelled the abandonment of all these works. Contracts had been let for most of them, and much work had been done. Their abandonment caused widespread disaster, bankrupting most of the contractors and leaving hundreds and thousands of laborers without the pay for the work they had done. The State was unable to pay the interest on the debt it had incurred. Finally the State was forced to compromise with her creditors by surrendering to the bondholders some of the works that had been begun, together with large tracts of land, for one-half of the amount of the indebtedness, and issuing new bonds for the remainder. The debt created by this attempt on the part of the State to construct railroads and canals proved to be a long plague on the people. All the bonds and certificates of stock that were required to be released to the State had not been surrendered;

the creditors to whom had been transferred the unfinished works, never completed the same, and finally abandoned what had been completed. The bonds were a mortgage upon these works and several attempts were made to induce the Legislature to pay the full amount of the bonds which had not been taken up by the creditors, as provided for in the Compromise Act. To prevent the Legislature at any future time from paying any part of the debt that was to have been assumed by the creditors, the people, in 1873, adopted an amendment to the constitution, which reads:

“No law or resolution shall ever be passed by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana that shall recognize any liability of this State to pay or redeem any certificate of stock issued in pursuance of an act entitled ‘An act to provide for the funded debt of the State of Indiana and for the completion of the Wabash and Erie Canal to Evansville,’ passed January 10, 1846; and an act supplemental to said act passed Jan. 29, 1847, which, by the provisions of said acts, or either of them, shall be payable exclusively from the proceeds of the canal lands and the tolls and revenues of the canal in said acts mentioned; and no such certificate of stock shall ever be paid by the State.”

This ended the agitation of the State's ever again assuming any part of this debt which had been paid and discharged by a surrender of the franchises of the State.

## CHAPTER XIV.

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### FRAUDS ON THE STATE.

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In comparison with some of her sister States, Indiana has suffered but very little from the frauds or peculations of her officers. In the selection of her State officers she has been peculiarly fortunate in that respect. The Treasurer of State handles several millions of money during his term, and, as but few checks or guards are thrown around him by the laws, the State might have suffered great loss, but up to the present time no State Treasurer has ever defaulted a penny, and there have been only one or two small losses in the office of the State Treasurer, and those have been made good by the Treasurer. This is a remarkable showing when everything is considered. The salary connected with the office has always been wholly inadequate to the work demanded, and the responsibility taken by that officer. The first frauds perpetrated on the State were in connection with the Swamp Lands. Congress, by law, gave to the State all the swamp or wet lands, contained within the State boundaries. At that time there were several hundred thousand acres of such lands in the State, and if properly handled would have been a source of wealth to the educational fund. The gift, however, awakened the cupidity of several officers and private citizens, and the State realized but very little from the generosity of the Government.



The State at first undertook to put the land upon the market at a fixed price per acre, and afterwards adopted a system of drainage, the cost of reclaiming the land to be paid for in certificates permitting the holder to take up the land at a stipulated price. It was not long until rumors of great frauds were in circulation, and at last the Legislature was forced by public sentiment to order an investigation. The investigation was made, and a report of the Committee disclosed that the frauds were open and notorious, and implicated, either directly or indirectly, some of the leading politicians and State and County officers, but no action was ever taken, and, as said, the great gift of the Nation was practically lost to the State.

The report was made to the General Assembly of 1859. The peculations reported on ramified from the open transfer illegally, and without compensation, of thousands of acres, to the illegal taking of fees by State and County officers. The law providing for the sale of the land, fixed certain fees for various State officers, for the issuing of the patents. To increase those fees the State Auditor ordered that no patent should be for a greater amount than forty acres, no matter how many acres might have been in the tract sold. The land was generally sold in whole sections, and one patent ought to have covered the whole transaction, but by the order of the State Auditor sixteen patents were required, and the Committee reported that by this means more than \$14,000 had been taken illegally from the treasury. They also reported that at least \$75,000 had been retained illegally by the State officers from the moneys received for sales of lands. They further reported that extravagant sums, amounting to many thousands of dollars, had been paid to individuals appointed to make the selection of the lands for the State.

They reported that in one County alone 124,000 acres of land had been illegally deeded away without compensation to the State in any form. Jacob Markle, Treasurer of Jasper County, was charged by the Committee with having illegally withheld \$100,000, and having compromised by giving his notes for \$24,000, which had never been paid, and with being a defaulter to the State in a still further sum. While thus indebted to the State he had been appointed by the Governor a Swamp Land Commissioner. It was shown that in one case where contracts for ditching had been let at twelve cents per cubic yard, they had been raised to twenty cents, and certificates issued for that amount and land given in payment, and that the ditching never was completed. In another County contracts had been let at four cents a yard, and raised to forty cents, and paid for at that price without the work having been done. In this case the contractor deeded one-half of the land thus obtained to the Commissioner making the contract. As the money resulting from the sale of these lands was to inure to the public schools, it is apparent that these frauds were perpetrated against the children of the State. The loss to the school fund has been variously estimated at from \$750,000 to \$2,000,000.

The next great fraud was by the forgery and sale of \$2,500,000 of State certificates of stock, but from it, luckily, the State suffered no loss. When the State's efforts at constructing its great system of internal improvements failed, and the State found itself burdened with a debt of which it could not even meet the interest, it compromised with its creditors by turning over to them certain canals, turnpikes and lands for one-half the amount of the debt, and issuing new bonds or certificates of stock for the remaining half. By the terms of that compromise the State

was required to keep an agent in the city of New York to promptly pay the interest on the new bonds, and the principal when the bonds should become due. He was provided with new bonds to be exchanged for the old ones.

A few years afterward, the Legislature became afraid that by the connivance of the Agent of State fraudulent certificates might be issued, and changed the system, requiring that the exchanges should be made in Indianapolis by the proper State officers. Unfortunately, however, the old book of stock certificates was not destroyed, but was left in the office of the Agent of State at New York. In 1859 Hon. James A. Cravens was elected State Agent. He appointed one D. C. Stover as his clerk. After serving about nine months Mr. Cravens resigned and Stover was appointed to the vacancy by Governor Willard. He served until in February, 1861, when Colonel Hudson was elected to the position by the Legislature. Colonel Hudson had not been long in office before he discovered that a number of fraudulent certificates had been issued. He at once charged the matter on Stover, who confessed the crime. As far as discovered the fraudulent issue amounted to \$2,538,000. The certificates bore date of March, April and June, 1859, and bore the forged signatures of H. E. Talbott, as State Auditor, and W. R. Nofsinger, State Treasurer, notwithstanding those gentlemen had gone out of office early in 1855.

All the certificates, except \$100,000, had been issued to a man by the name of Samuel Hallett, the \$100,000 being made payable to one Deschaux. When the fraud was discovered, \$1,295,000 had been retired, and destroyed by Stover. The discovery was made just about the time the State was endeavoring to negotiate a war loan, and Stover promised, that if the matter was kept secret, he would take up and

cancel the outstanding certificates. To this the agent of the State agreed, fearing, if a disclosure was made, it would interfere with the State obtaining money on its new loan. When it was brought to the attention of Governor Morton he at once determined to prosecute the parties charged with the fraud, and placed all the papers in the hands of Mr. Oakey Hall, the Prosecuting Attorney of New York, the crime having been committed in that city. After an examination of the case that officer determined to suppress the matter for the time being. This did not suit Governor Morton, and he again visited New York and insisted upon the arrest and trial of both Stover and Hallett. They were indicted, but the court quashed the indictment against Hallett on the ground that it was no offence against the laws of New York to forge certificates or obligations, purporting on their face to be executed by the State of Indiana. The prosecution of Stover was finally dropped. It has never been known whether all the fraudulent certificates were taken up by Stover or not, but as they were forged, the State has never been called upon to pay any of them. These two comprise all the frauds that have been perpetrated or attempted upon the State.

## CHAPTER XV.

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### HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

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Prior to the Revolutionary War practically there were no political parties in this country. As the discontent with the mother country grew the people divided into Whigs and Tories, the Whigs being in favor of resistance to England, and the Tories in favor of submission. At the beginning the Whigs were willing to remain as Colonies, but insisted that the rights of the Colonies should be guaranteed. The fever of independence grew until the rule of the mother country was rejected entirely. After the close of the Revolutionary War, and when the question of government came up, the Whigs divided in sentiment. One class of the Whigs believed that the States should be supreme, and that the Union, or confederated Government, should be confined merely to matters of defense against encroachments. They all realized the necessity for some central government, but they did not want a central government that would take from the States their independence or sovereignty. This feeling was especially strong in the smaller States. Those holding to this view were called "Particularists." They were opposed by those who believed that local self-government would be inadequate to the perpetuation of the Confederacy, and that the Central Government ought to be strong enough to protect itself in case of foreign invasion,

without asking the consent of the individual States. These were called the "Strong Government Whigs." When it was found that the original confederation was too weak to accomplish the ends sought, and it was determined to form a more perfect Union, the difference between the two classes became more marked.

Washington, Hamilton, and others clung to the doctrine that the federal government should be supreme, and the States secondary. Jefferson and his followers wanted the States left supreme, with the federal or central government hampered by conditions that would prevent it ever invading the sovereign rights of the States. On the adoption of the constitution the people divided into two parties—Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Hamilton, Madison and Jay, were among the leading Federalists, while Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, with Jefferson led the opposition. When the constitution was finally adopted the Federals were called "Broad Constructionists," because they favored a construction of the constitution that would give to the central government the greatest possible power. Their opponents took the name of "Strict Constructionists," as they favored holding to the strict letter, and giving the central government only such powers as were directly conferred, and they declared that all other powers were reserved to the States or to the people. Washington was elected President without opposition, but Jefferson strongly opposed many of his theories of government, and soon had a party which took the name of Republicans. At the third election of a President this new party made itself felt, but failed of success. At the next election, however, it triumphed, its two great leaders being Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Jefferson was the writer, and Burr the orator and organizer of the new party.

Madison, who had been one of the original Federalists, and who had much to do in securing a ratification of the constitution, joined the Republicans. There had been no such things as conventions or caucuses to nominate candidates. By common consent Washington was the foremost and only one thought of for the first President, and at the end of his second term the Federals took up John Adams, who had been Vice President. In 1800 the practice of nominating candidates for President by congressional caucus was introduced, and such a caucus put in nomination Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, for the Republicans, while John Adams was again the leader of the Federalists, without any formal nomination. The contest of 1800 broke down the Federal party. It was under Jefferson that removal from office for political reasons was first introduced into the administration of the Government. It was then that he enunciated his ideas of official life in the following language: "If a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few, by resignation none. Can any other mode than that of removal be proposed?" In 1805 the Republicans dropped their name, and assumed that of "Democrats." The opponents of the Democrats took the name of National Republicans, which was afterward changed to Whigs. At first the Whigs were confined to those who advocated the election to the Presidency of Henry Clay. They believed in internal improvements by the Government, and in a protective tariff. As the Whig party had its origin in the desire to make Henry Clay President, it died, virtually, when that great statesman died.

In the early organization of civil government in the Ter-

ritory of Indiana, there was little occasion for political parties, even had there been any disposition upon the part of the people to so divide. While in the first stage of territorial existence, all power was lodged in the hands of the Governor and the three Judges. Together they made the laws, and the Governor appointed all subordinate officers, the people not being permitted to choose even constables. When the Territory entered upon the second stage of civil life, the people were only permitted to elect members of the House of Representatives. And even there the right of suffrage was very limited. No person could be a member of the Legislative Council, which was appointed by the President, unless he was the owner of five hundred acres of land in the Territory, and before a man could become a member of the House of Representatives he must show title to two hundred acres of land. No one was entitled to vote for a member of the House unless he was the owner of fifty acres.

As has been said, all power of appointment was lodged in the hands of the Governor, but this power was never abused by any of the Territorial executives. Still, the fact that the power was lodged there, fretted the people. In 1805 the first Legislative Council of the Territory, in replying to the address of Governor Harrison, used the following language on this subject:

"Although we are not as completely independent in our legislative capacity as we would wish to be, yet we are sensible that we must wait with patience for that period of time when our population will burst the trammels of a territorial government, and we shall assume the character more consonant to republicanism. \* \* \* The confidence which your fellow citizens have uniformly had in your administration, has been such that they have hitherto had



no reason to be jealous of the unlimited power which you possess over our legislative proceedings. We, however, can not help regretting that such powers have been lodged in the hands of anyone—especially when it is recollected to what dangerous lengths the exercise of those powers may be extended.”

The Governor's veto of a bill was absolute, the ordinance establishing the government requiring his consent to make any legislation effective. In 1807 the Territorial Legislature attempted to extend the right of suffrage by an enactment of its own, and the next year Congress defined the qualification for voters as follows: “Every free white male person in the Indiana territory, above the age of twenty-one years, having been a citizen of the United States and a resident in the said territory one year next preceding an election of representatives, and who has a legal or equitable title to a tract of land of quantity of fifty acres, or who may become the purchaser from the United States, of a tract of land of the quantity of fifty acres, or who holds, in his own right, a town lot of the value of one hundred dollars, shall be entitled to vote for representatives to the general assembly of the said territory.”

This was an improvement, but it was not all the people desired, and they kept on petitioning Congress for a more liberal election law. They also wanted a revision of the Ordinance of 1787 so as to permit them to choose the Legislative Council as well as the members of the House of Representatives, and also to elect a delegate to Congress, that power being then lodged in the hands of the Legislature. At last, in 1809, Congress gave the people the right to elect a delegate to Congress, and in 1811 the urging on the part of the people overcame all obstacles, and the right to vote

for members of the territorial legislature, and for congressional delegate was granted to every white male person who had attained the age of twenty-one years, and who, having paid a county or territorial tax, and who had resided in the Territory for one year, and in 1814 the tax clause was stricken out, but it was still required that the voter should be a free holder. When the people adopted a State constitution the property clause was not inserted, but the right to vote at all elections by the people was given to every white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who had resided in the State one year immediately preceding such election, except such as shall be enlisted in the armies of the United States or their allies. Under the first State constitution members of the House of Representatives were elected for one year, Senators for three years, and the Governor for three years. The other State officers were chosen by the General Assembly to hold their offices for a term of three years.

In the early years of Indiana, under the Territorial and State Governments, party politics were unknown. Caucuses or conventions were never held. When it came time to elect officers, anybody who desired to become a candidate, announced himself as such, and ran upon his own merits. Their friends were denominated as "Smith men," "Jones men" or "Brown men" as the case might be. It was frequently the case that from ten to twenty candidates were running for the same office. Stump speaking was also an unknown quantity, until sometime after the formation of the State Government. It is true that when Jonathan Jennings became a candidate for the place of delegate to Congress, against Thomas Randolph, Mr. Jennings made many speeches, but such methods of campaigning were not com-

mon. It is possible that these were the first political speeches ever made in Indiana. The question at issue at that time, and for several years after, was the admission of slaves into the Territory. The people were divided upon this issue. Party names, such as Whigs and Democrats, were unknown. Slavery had crept into the Territory under the old French rule and continued under the British; and the first Anglo-American settlers were mainly from Virginia, and had brought with them into the Territory their Virginia ideas of the "peculiar institution."

Among the early settlers, however, were many who were opposed to that institution, and they determined to fight the admission of slavery into the Territory. The Ordinance of 1787 contained a clause prohibiting slavery in all the new Northwest Territory, but many of the citizens made a determined effort to secure the repeal of that clause, Governor Harrison being the leader of the advocates of slavery. Up to the final destruction of slavery throughout the Union, political parties in Indiana were divided upon that issue, notwithstanding slavery itself had been prohibited by the constitution of the State. Thus it was, for several years under the Territorial Government, when it came time to elect a delegate to Congress, the parties were known as the Slavery or Anti-Slavery party. In local elections, however, the people divided, as has been stated, and called themselves by the names of their chiefs. In the great Presidential election when John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, William H. Crawford and John C. Calhoun were candidates for the Presidency, the friends of each called themselves Adams men, Jackson men, Crawford men, etc. Four years later the names Whig and Democrat were adopted, the Whigs being for Adams and the Democrats for Jackson.

These names continued until 1854. In 1852, in the memorable contest between Franklin Pierce and Winfield Scott, the Whigs were so disastrously defeated that the party practically went out of existence. There had been growing up, for sometime, a strong anti-slavery sentiment throughout the country; part of this sentiment being in favor of a total abolition of slavery, and another part going only to a restriction of the institution to the States wherein it then existed. The Whig party, on its dissolution, divided, part going to the Democrats and a part to the anti-slavery or Free-soil party. This party rapidly increased in numbers owing to efforts that were made to extend the area of slavery, and while quite a number of Democrats still retained their places in their party, and called themselves Free-soil Democrats, in Congress and other places they united with the old anti-slavery remnant of the Whigs. About this time there came up a new party, which for awhile threatened to sweep the country. It was based on an opposition to the Catholic church. It took the name of Know-Nothing. Its meetings were always held in secret, its candidates were named in the same secret style, and their votes cast in the same way.

From the very nature of things such a party could not long exist in a country with free institutions, but in some of the States it was successful in electing State officers, members of the Legislature and members of Congress. In this State it did not gain quite so strong a foothold, but in many of the Counties succeeded in electing its candidates, and in one or two instances, electing a member of Congress. To add to the political complication of the times, a temperance excitement swept over the State, and for awhile dominated the party opposed to the Democrats. So it was that

in 1854 the "People's Party," a combination of free-soil Democrats, anti-slavery Whigs, some of the Know-Nothings, and the Temperance men, were successful at the State election, not only electing the State officers, but securing a majority in both houses of the General Assembly. The result of this victory culminated in the passage of a prohibitory liquor law, copied after that of Maine. This defeat in 1854 was in the nature of a surprise to the Democrats. They had deemed themselves strong enough to overcome the free-soil and abolition parties, but the addition of the temperance element had wrested victory from them.

The slavery question was becoming more and more exciting, and the opposition to that institution more determined. By the Missouri compromise slavery had been forever prohibited in the new territories in the West and Northwest, but an effort had been made in Congress to repeal that compromise and permit the people of the Territories to determine the question of the admission of slavery for themselves. This aroused the most bitter antagonism throughout the North, and the Know-Nothing party having dissolved, a new party known by the name of Republican, was formed. In Indiana most of the leaders of the old Whig party, together with many prominent Democrats, especially among the younger members of that party, united themselves with the new Republican party. In 1856 the first contest between the Democratic party that had ruled the State during all its Statehood life, with the exception of twelve years, and the new Republican party, with its watchword of Free Men and Free Soil, took place.

Oliver P. Morton, of Wayne County, who had formerly been prominently identified with the Democratic party, was nominated by the Republicans for Governor, and Ashbel P.

Willard by the Democrats. They were both young men and of commanding talents, Mr. Willard ranking as one of the most eloquent orators of the day. It was a memorable contest. The two leading candidates united in a joint canvass of the State, speaking day after day, before great crowds. This new party was given its name Republican, in Indiana, although it had its birth in Michigan. Many of the old Abolitionists of the State united with the new party, but quite a number continued to fight out the straight doctrine of abolitionism. This latter party never controlled any large number of votes in Indiana, although its leader, the Hon. George W. Julian, was at one time its candidate for the Vice Presidency. He afterward became a prominent leader in the new Republican party. In this contest of 1856 there still remained an element of the old Know-Nothing party in the State, which followed the lead of Millard Fillmore. That year there were three candidates for the Presidency: James Buchanan, Democrat; John C. Fremont, Republican, and Millard Fillmore, American. The American or Know-Nothing party, however, did not run a State ticket and its vote for State officers was divided between the Republicans and the Democrats, the most of them, however, going to the Republicans. The Democrats were successful in the election, but the fact was disclosed that this new party had been born a political giant.

Four years later came the greatest political contest that up to that time had ever been waged in the State. The campaign of 1840 had stood as the most remarkable political campaign, and is still pointed to as an instance of political revolution. General William Henry Harrison, who had at one time been the Governor of Indiana Territory, and had fought and won the famous battle of Tippecanoe, was the

candidate of the Whig party, against Martin Van Buren, who was then occupying the Presidential chair. General Harrison lived in a small and modest house at North Bend, on the Ohio River, only a few miles from the Indiana line. By the way of derision he had been called by the Democrats the Log Cabin and Hard Cider candidate, and his friends took up those terms and they became the party battle cry. It was the first year in which processions, parades and barbecues became a part of political campaign work. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, from Massachusetts to Georgia, great processions paraded the streets and country roads, carrying with them miniature log cabins, and barrels of hard cider. In no State of the Union, however, did the political excitement run higher than in Indiana.

The Whigs, in 1840, saw their chance, and took advantage of it. Barbecues in political campaigns were essentially an Indiana feature. During the campaign a great meeting was held at Tippecanoe battle ground, which was attended by many thousands of people from all parts of the State, and some even from Kentucky. Although the State was but sparsely settled at that time, yet great parades were held almost weekly, with hundreds of men on horseback and on foot, and hundreds of women in wagons. Coonskins, barrels of hard cider, log cabins and campaign songs were the principal features. That year, too, the Whigs had the advantage of their opponents in the way of public speakers, and for months stump speaking was the order of the day. The Whigs were successful.

It was supposed that in the intensity of feeling and in the excitement, no future political campaign would equal that of 1840, but it became a shadow when compared with that of 1860. From 1856 to 1860 the feeling of opposition to

the extension of slavery had grown in intensity and in strength. The outrages perpetrated in Kansas had crystalized this feeling of opposition to slavery, until the country was on the eve of a political revolution. The Democratic party, while in the main still adhering to the cause of the South, divided in twain in 1860. Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, who had been the main instigator of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and who had been the father of the doctrine known in those days as "Squatter-sovereignty," was the candidate of the Northern wing of the Democratic party for the Presidency. The convention of that party met at Charleston, South Carolina, and although Mr. Douglas had a clear majority of the delegates, he was bitterly opposed by those from the South, and was unable to secure the necessary two-thirds to nominate him, quite a number of the Northern delegates voting against him in the interest of the South.

After a lengthened struggle in which great bitterness was manifested, the convention adjourned to meet on a subsequent day at Baltimore, Maryland. When it again met the same bitter feeling was manifested and finally culminated in the withdrawal of the Southern delegates to Richmond, Virginia. Mr. Douglas was nominated by the delegates who remained at Baltimore, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, was nominated for the Vice Presidency. The Southern delegates, at Richmond, nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for President and Vice President. John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, were nominated by a party which styled itself the "Constitutional Union."

In 1858 Mr. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln had been opposing candidates for the United States Senate in Illinois,



and held joint debates which had attracted the attention of the whole country. The Republicans throughout the country discovered, by that debate, that a new giant had arisen in their party, and his name at once became connected with the possibility of the Presidency. At that time the roll of the Republican party contained many of the most distinguished names in American history, among them being William H. Seward, of New York; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania.

The name of each of these had also been discussed as to their availability for the leadership in the great contest they all saw was to come. Prior to his debate with Douglas, Mr. Lincoln was hardly known outside of his own State of Illinois, although he had served one term as a member of Congress. Mr. Seward was looked upon by the great majority of the party, as its great leader and champion, and upon him all eyes had been turned, and it was confidently expected he would be the nominee. That Mr. Lincoln was selected instead was mainly due to Indiana, and therefore an account of that contest has a proper place in any history of politics in the State. Henry S. Lane, of Montgomery County, had been nominated by the Republicans as their candidate for Governor, and Oliver P. Morton, who had led the party in its first contest, in 1856, was nominated for Lieutenant Governor. Andrew G. Curtin had been nominated by the Republicans of Pennsylvania as their candidate for Governor. The election for State officers in those two States occurred in October, prior to that for President. It was felt that those two States must return a Republican majority in October, if national success was to be expected in November, hence the party at large, and more especially the two candi-

dates for Governor, mentioned, were deeply interested in the selection of some man as a candidate for President who could carry those two States. In both of them there was a strong undercurrent of opposition to Mr. Seward. Mr. Lane and Mr. Curtin became satisfied that if they were to succeed, it would be necessary for them to receive not only the vote of the Republicans but of the remnants of the old American or Know-Nothing party, which was still quite strong, both in Pennsylvania and Indiana.

The Americans were opposed to Seward, and Lane and Curtin united to secure his defeat. Among the others who had been talked about, besides those already mentioned, for the Presidential nomination, was Edward Bates, of Missouri. Mr. Curtin favored him, but Mr. Lane declared that he would be no stronger in Indiana than Mr. Seward, and favored Mr. Lincoln. At that time there were some of the Illinois delegates who favored Mr. Seward, but Mr. Lane and Mr. Curtin united in assuring the friends of Mr. Lincoln that if the Illinois delegation would stand solidly for him, Indiana and Pennsylvania would join them. This was done, and when the convention met at Chicago, in May, Mr. Lincoln was nominated on the third ballot. The campaign that followed was wonderful in many ways. It was characterized by more bitterness than any that had preceded it. It may also be said that it was characterized by more enthusiasm. Mr. Lincoln, in his earlier days, had worked on a farm and had split rails for fencing. He had also made a trip or two down the Mississippi River on a flat boat.

Almost immediately after his nomination he was styled "The Rail Splitter" and "The Flat-boatman." Republican clubs were organized throughout the entire North, who called themselves "Wide Awakes." Logs, rails, and flat-

boats took the place in the processions that in 1840 had been occupied by coon skins, log cabins and hard cider. In Indiana the struggle was one of the most intense bitterness. The followers of Breckenridge were not so strong in numbers as they were in political leadership, and they were very active, fighting Douglas almost as bitterly as they did Mr. Lincoln. Thomas A. Hendricks, who afterwards became Vice President of the United States, was the Democratic candidate for Governor, and he and Mr Lane made a joint canvass. For many years Mr. Lane had been known as the "Silver-tongued Orator," while Mr. Hendricks was one of the ablest political debaters ever produced by the State. Mr. Lane was both eloquent and humorous, interlarding his speeches with humorous stories and anecdotes, always creating laughter and enthusiasm, while Mr. Hendricks was plausible and argumentative. As a political debater Mr. Hendricks was, no doubt, the superior while as a stump speaker, calculated to win the applause and votes of the mixed crowds, who in those days attended political meetings, he was greatly excelled by Mr. Lane. Mr. Morton, and his opponent, David Turpie, also engaged in a joint canvass. Every part of the State was visited by those champions of the two political schools. Never before in the history of Indiana had there been such political processions and demonstrations, as those which characterized the campaign of 1860. Each party tried to outdo the other in this respect. Mr. Douglas himself visited the State, and his party gave him a reception at Indianapolis in which it was estimated fully seventy-five thousand people took part. The election for State officers in October resulted in favor of the Republicans, and they carried the day again in November. As is well known this triumph of the Republicans was followed

by the secession of eleven Southern States, which resulted in civil war.

During the civil war the name Republican was dropped and that of the "Union Party" substituted. This party was composed of the Republicans and War Democrats, the latter being Democrats who favored the prosecution of the war and the maintenance of the Union. It is proper to say, however, that many Democrats, who retained their places in their party ranks, were ardent in their support of the Union cause. From 1861 until after the close of the war the two parties contesting for the control of the State, were the Democratic and the Union, but on the close of the war, the Republicans resumed their former name. When President Andrew Johnson and the Republican party quarreled, many of the War Democrats in Indiana followed Johnson back to their old party, but some of them remained with the Republicans.

The contest of 1864 was in many respects a desperate one, more lawlessness occurring than in any other campaign the State has ever witnessed. The Democrats in their National convention had declared for peace with the South, holding that the war had been a failure. A large number of arrests had been made in the State by military officers, for one offense and another; the Knights of the Golden Circle had made their appearance in the State, and everything tended to lawlessness, as party bitterness was extreme. President Lincoln was the Union candidate for re-election, and the Democrats had nominated General George B. McClellan. Governor Morton and Hon. Joseph E. McDonald were the opposing candidates for Governor. To the Republicans it was necessary that they control the Legislature, as Governor Morton for two years had been running the

State Government on money borrowed without authority of law, and it was necessary that a General Assembly be elected that was in sympathy with him, that his acts might be legalized. The victories of the Union armies under Sheridan in the Valley, and Sherman in Georgia, had strengthened the cause of the Union, so it soon became evident that Mr. Lincoln would be re-elected, but in Indiana the result, so far as the Legislature was concerned, was in great doubt.

Political rallies were held almost everywhere, and in many cases were accompanied by bloodshed. Newspaper offices were mobbed in several parts of the State, and fatal personal encounters were occurring almost daily. One of the unique features of the campaign was witnessed in Monroe County. Monroe County was a close one, politically, and a State Senator was to be elected. The Republicans obtained a cannon and with that canvassed the County. They went about from Township to Township, firing their cannon along the roads, and with it and their martial band, gathered the crowds to hear their speakers. The cannon worked two ways—it aroused the enthusiasm of the Republicans and got them out to the meetings, and it overawed the opposition. Similar devices were resorted to in other Counties.

In 1868 the contest was not so fiercely fought out. The war had ended, the soldiers had returned to their homes, and while some acts of lawlessness occurred, they were the exception and not the rule. General Grant was the candidate of the Republicans, and Horatio Seymour of the Democrats. Hon. Conrad Baker and Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks were the opposing candidates for Governor. Mr. Baker was then the acting Governor, taking the place on the election of Mr. Morton to the United States Senate. The State has

known few political leaders with as much skill and political sagacity in the management of his party, or of a campaign, as Mr. Hendricks, and he came very near carrying the State for his party in October. After the close of the war there had been a shifting of party lines, many Democrats, who had for awhile operated with the Republicans, had returned to their former party allegiance, and there was considerable opposition to the reconstruction methods of Congress. Mr. Hendricks took advantage of all these things, and the result in October was a great surprise to the Republicans.

In 1872, owing to opposition to President Grant, not only many of the War Democrats who had remained in the Republican party, but also quite a number of the Republicans, left their party and joined in a new one called "Liberal Republicans." This party nominated for its candidate for the Presidency, Horace Greeley, of New York, with B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice President. They were endorsed by the Democrats, and were the opposing candidates to President Grant and Henry Wilson. Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Indiana, opposed by General Thomas M. Browne. The election in October resulted in favor of Mr. Hendricks, but the Republicans elected all their other State candidates, with the exception of Superintendent of Public Instruction. The vote on all the candidates was very close, but in November, owing to the dissatisfaction of the Democrats with Mr. Greeley, General Grant carried the State by a very large majority.

In 1873 a new party was organized. It was brought into life by a desire to in some way ease the financial burden then resting upon the country. Its principal doctrine was for an unlimited issue of greenback currency, and it took the name

of "Greenback." It became very strong in some of the States and in Indiana, in 1876, polled about 30,000 votes, but it never succeeded in electing any State officer, although it did elect in some of the Counties not only members of the Legislature but some of the County officers. It maintained an organization until it was finally swallowed by the Labor or People's Party. About the same time the temperance excitement again grew strong, and a prohibition party was formed. At nearly every election since then this party has had its candidates in the field, but has never succeeded in polling more than 12,000 or 13,000 votes in the State. In 1873 the Republican Legislature enacted a very stringent temperance law, known as the "Baxter Law." From 1860 up to that time, with a single exception of from 1863 to 1865, the Republicans had controlled the State, but, as has been stated, Mr. Hendricks had been elected Governor in 1872. The passage of this Baxter Law lost to the Republicans the German vote, and in 1874 they were badly defeated. Two years later the State cast its vote not only for the Democratic State ticket, but for Tilden and Hendricks, the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President. Since that time Indiana has been debatable ground for the two great parties, sometimes going for one and sometimes for the other. It was in 1876 that money was first introduced into the State as a potent power in politics. The State remained under the control of the Democrats until 1881.

In 1880 occurred another great campaign. The closeness of that of 1876 had encouraged the Democrats in the belief that they could wrest the power of the Government from the Republicans. They nominated as their candidates General Winfield S. Hancock, one of the most gallant commanders of the late war, and Hon. William H. English, of

**Indiana.** The nominations were received enthusiastically, notwithstanding there was some soreness because the convention had not nominated the old ticket of 1876. That ticket had come so near success, and many believed it had been wrongfully kept out of power, that there was an almost universal sentiment in favor of its re-nomination, but it became understood that Mr. Hendricks would not again consent to take the second place. The record of General Hancock was much in his favor, and as it was readily seen the result of the election would depend upon the two doubtful States, Indiana and New York, it was thought that the great political skill of Mr. English would carry Indiana. Indiana was still an October State, and it was felt by both parties that the Presidential election would actually be fought in October, so both parties lined up for a great battle in Indiana. Hon. Franklin Landers was the Democratic nominee for Governor, and Hon. Albert G. Porter, of the Republicans.

Mr. Porter was one of the most persuasive speakers in the State, and possessed the faculty of making friends above any other man then in the State. He at once entered upon an active canvass of the State. His party felt it was fighting for its life. The Democrats were equally in earnest, and for three months the battle was waged. Every effort was put forth by both parties, and the State was canvassed as never before. The election resulted in favor of the Republicans. The Democrats still hoped to cause a reversal of the verdict in November, but the fates were against them. They had calculated somewhat on a supposed disaffection among the Republicans, owing to a contest in their national convention. When the Republican convention met that year, in Chicago, the two leading candidates before it were Hon.



James G. Blaine and ex-President Grant. General Grant had served two terms, and had been followed by Mr. Hayes. While General Grant was absent, making a tour of the world, his friends, headed by Mr. Conkling, of New York, and General Logan, of Illinois, put forward his name for a nomination for a third time. The contest in the convention was waged with a great deal of bitterness, until the friends of Mr. Blaine turned and nominated Hon. James A. Garfield, of Ohio. There were some evidences of a revolt in the party against General Garfield, and the Democrats had hoped the lukewarmness, on the part of some of the leading Republicans, would result in their favor, but in this they were disappointed.

In the campaign of 1880 it was charged by the Democrats that the Republicans had used large sums of money for corrupt purposes. There is no doubt that vast sums of money were used by both parties. One result of the controversy, was to turn the attention of the people to the necessity of a more careful guardianship of the ballot. Prior to that time the constitution contained no provision in regard to the length of residence in a county or precinct to entitle a person to vote. It was a lame place in the constitution, and one that opened a wide door for frauds upon the ballot box. An effort had been made to amend the constitution in this respect, and the people had voted upon the proposed amendment, but the Supreme Court had held that the amendment had not been adopted. With other amendments it was again submitted to a vote, and adopted by a large majority. At the same election the time of choosing State officers was changed to November. This was a great step in advance, but still did not afford sufficient protection to the ballot box, and it was not until some years later that a new election

law was enacted. This law has been known as the Australian system. It requires an absolutely secret ballot. The State furnishes a ballot upon which the names of the candidates of all parties for State officers, are printed, and the Counties furnish the ballots for the County candidates. No other ballots are permitted to be used, and the voter designates, by the use of a mark, the name of those for whom he wishes to cast his ballot.

Temperance legislation by the Republicans in 1881, lost them the State again, and it was not until 1888 that they recovered it, but they did not succeed in obtaining a majority in both branches of the General Assembly until 1894.

In 1888 the Republicans at their National Convention, held at Chicago, in June, nominated General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, as their candidate for President. This precipitated on the State the most hotly contested political battle the State had ever known. In 1886 the Republicans had succeeded in electing their State ticket, by small pluralities. General Harrison was then a Senator in Congress and was seeking re-election. The Legislature was Democratic on joint ballot and he was defeated. The candidacy of Mr. Harrison in 1888, added intense interest to the contest in the State. The election resulted in favor of the Republicans on both National and State tickets.

The Labor party, like the Prohibition party, never was able to cast more than a few thousand votes, and in 1894 it and the remnants of the old Greenback party united under the general name of "Populists." The Republicans had carried the election of 1888, electing its State ticket and giving the electoral vote to General Benjamin Harrison for President, but in 1890 and 1892 the tide swept back again to the Democrats. In 1894, as an outcome of the great depression

in business, the Republicans succeeded in carrying the State by the largest plurality ever given to any political party in the State, and gained control of both branches of the Legislature, for the first time since 1872. In 1896 the Populists and the Democrats united upon an electoral ticket, but each party run their own candidates for State officers. In that year the Prohibition party also divided and run two tickets. The election resulted in favor of the National and State ticket of the Republicans. In 1894 for the first time in seventy years, all the members elected to Congress in Indiana, were members of one political party. In that year the Republicans succeeded in carrying all the thirteen districts.

From the very beginning Indiana has always been a very close State politically speaking. It first appeared in a Presidential election in 1820, when it cast its electoral vote for James Monroe. From that time until 1836 it gave a majority for the Democratic candidates, but in the latter year it gave to Harrison 5,800 majority, and four years later, it gave him a majority of more than fourteen thousand. It was not until 1860 that the State again voted in opposition to the Democracy, that party, on the vote for President, steadily holding about fifteen thousand plurality, but only with one exception, 1852, did it reach anything like such figures on the State ticket. The first five Governors were Democratic, but with the single exception of William Hendricks, who had no opposition, and the second term of Jonathan Jennings, did the plurality reach three thousand. Beginning with 1830 the Whigs carried the State at four successive elections, internal improvements being the main issue. Their pluralities run from 2,791 at the first election, to 8,645, at the last. The Democrats then again got control, and held it until 1860. In 1852 Joseph A. Wright was elected by a

plurality of more than 20,000. The other pluralities were small. In 1864 Oliver P. Morton carried the State by 20,883, but since that time, success has fluctuated between the two parties, neither reaching 9,000, until 1896, when the Republicans won by about 18,000.

In the earlier political campaigns the newspapers wielded a vast influence, but the main reliance of the parties was upon their stump speakers, as they were called. Indiana did not have a large number of newspapers within its borders, and, with one or two exceptions, they were all of local circulation. The old Whigs depended upon the New York Tribune, the Cincinnati Gazette and the Louisville Journal, while the Democrats had for their great organ the Louisville Courier. Perhaps no country ever possessed four papers wielding a like influence. Through Southern Indiana, for many years hardly a Whig or Republican family could be found that did not have the Cincinnati Gazette, while through Central and Northern Indiana the New York Tribune circulated thousands of copies weekly. The papers mentioned, together with the Indianapolis Journal and Sentinel, the New Albany Ledger and the South Bend Register, led and formed political thought in the State. Speeches were not circulated in pamphlet form then as now, so the people, to hear the speakers, must attend upon the meetings. The fame of many of those speakers has come down to the present day.

The halls of the State Legislature has witnessed several exciting political contests, especially over the election of Senators in Congress. The first notable contest occurred in 1836. Four candidates were before the Legislature—Governor Noah Noble, Senator William Hendricks, Oliver H. Smith, and Ratliff Boon. Mr. Hendricks was the candidate

of the Democrats, while Smith and Noble contested for the votes of the Whigs. When the balloting began Smith was third in the race, but he gathered strength until the ninth ballot, when he was elected. It had generally been thought that Governor Noble would succeed. He had long had an ambition to go to the Senate, but his manners were austere, while those of Smith were exceedingly pleasant. Six years later Smith, in turn, was defeated after a most exciting contest. He was the candidate of the Whigs, and Hon. Tilghman A. Howard of the Democrats. In Wayne County, a reliable Whig County, owing to local differences over the removal of the County seat, David Hoover, a Democrat, had been elected to the Legislature, but under a pledge to vote for Smith. Daniel Kelso, the Democratic member from Switzerland County, did not like Howard, and it was understood that he, too, was pledged to Smith. When the balloting began Hoover voted for Smith and Kelso for Edward A. Hannegan. Hoover changed to Hannegan, and the balloting went on, until Howard withdrew from the race, and Hannegan was elected.

Among the great Democratic leaders of the State, prior to the war, was Hon. Jesse D. Bright, of Madison, who for seventeen years had represented the State in the United States Senate, and at one time had been President of that body. In 1861 he was expelled from the Senate on a charge of treason for writing the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 1, 1861.

"My Dear Sir:—Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend, Thomas Lincoln, of Texas. He visits your capital mainly to dispose of what he regards a great improvement to fire-arms. I recommend him to your favorable

consideration as a gentleman of the first respectability, and reliable in every respect.

"To his excellency Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederation of States." Very truly yours,

"JESSE D. BRIGHT."

The main objection to this letter was that it was addressed to Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederate States, thereby recognizing the act of secession, and the legality of his election. In this connection it will not be out of place as a part of the political history of Indiana, to give an account of Mr. Bright's first election to the Senate. In 1843 he was the Lieutenant Governor of the State, and as such was the presiding officer of the State Senate. The Whigs had succeeded in electing a majority of the members of the House of Representatives, and the Senate was a tie with the casting vote in the hands of Mr. Bright. At that time there was no United States law governing the manner of electing United States Senators, the Legislatures of the various States being left to their own devices. A Senator was to be elected from Indiana, and as the Whigs had a majority on joint ballot, they would be able to elect a candidate of their own. The Senate, by the casting vote of Mr. Bright, persistently refused to go into a joint convention, and thereby defeated the election of a Senator. Two years afterward the Democrats succeeded in getting control, on joint ballot, and Mr. Bright himself became a candidate for that position. He was elected and took his seat only a short time after he became of an age that qualified him to a seat in that body, being the youngest man, up to that time, who had ever been elected to the United States Senate.

In 1855 came another memorable contest for the United States Senatorship, in which Mr. Bright also figured. The

Democrats had a majority of two in the Senate while the House contained a majority of sixteen of the Republican or anti-Nebraska party. This would secure the election of either a Republican or an anti-Nebraska Democrat. Again the Senate refused to go into a joint convention, and for two years the State was left with but one Senator. Two years later the Democrats got control again on joint ballot, but the opposition controlled the Senate. Without warning, one day, the Democratic Senators, headed by the Democratic Lieutenant Governor, left their seats in the Senate and went over to the Hall of the House, and there formed a joint convention by which two Senators were elected—Hon. Graham N. Fitch for the term of four years and Mr. Bright for a term of six, to succeed himself.

The Republican members of the General Assembly protested against this election, but the United States Senate decided that it could not take cognizance of a Legislative protest. The only way by which the seat of a Senator could be questioned was by contest. In 1859 Colonel Henry S. Lane and Colonel William M. McCarty were elected, by the Republican members of the Legislature, to contest the seats of Bright and Fitch, but the contest was decided against them. On the expulsion of Mr. Bright from the Senate, Governor Morton appointed to the vacancy, Hon. Joseph A. Wright, who had twice been elected Governor of the State by the Democrats, and who, during the administration of President Buchanan, had represented this country at Berlin. Mr. Wright had long been the political rival of Mr. Bright, but when secession came he took the part of the Union, and was identified with the Union party from that time until his death. The Legislature of 1863, being Democratic, elected for the remainder of the term of Mr. Bright, Hon. David Turpie, and for the full term Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks.

In 1869 a contest arose over the election of a United States Senator which threatened for awhile to disrupt the Republican party. The term for which Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks had been elected, was about to expire. In 1868 Hon. Conrad Baker, who was acting Governor, filling out the unexpired term of Governor Morton, who had been elected to the Senate, and Hon. Will Cumback, were opposing candidates for the nomination for Governor by the Republicans. Senator Hendricks had been nominated as the Democratic candidate, and it was supposed by some that he would resign his seat in the Senate pending the election of Governor. Mr. Cumback, while being a candidate for the nomination for Governor, was really aiming at the Senate, and on the supposition that Mr. Hendricks would resign, wrote a letter to Governor Baker, telling him that his ambitions were for the Senate, rather than for Governor; and that whoever might receive the temporary appointment for Senator would have the advantage when it came to electing a member for the full term, asked for the appointment, saying that in case he should receive it, it would necessarily take him out of the race for Governor. This letter was not made public, but Governor Baker let it be known to some of his friends that he had received it. Senator Hendricks did not resign, and consequently there was no appointment to be made. Baker was nominated for Governor and Cumback for Lieutenant Governor. They were both elected. When the Legislature met, Cumback received the caucus nomination of his party for Senator, but four or five members refused to vote for him, and a resolution was introduced in the Legislature setting forth that reports were current that Governor Baker had received a letter from Mr. Cumback, which in its nature was an attempt to bribe that



officer, and asking the Governor to furnish the Legislature with a copy of the letter. This was done, and finally the name of Mr. Cumback was withdrawn and Hon. Daniel D. Pratt, of Logansport, who had lately been elected to Congress, was chosen Senator.

The Democrats made the most of this matter, and for many years pursued Mr. Cumback with a repetition of charges against his integrity. Among the Republicans, however, there was a diversity of opinion, many of the leaders condemning Governor Baker for his action in the matter. The affair caused great excitement throughout the State for many years, and resulted, in the opinion of many, in the defeat of the Republicans at the next election for Governor.

In 1886 occurred a very peculiar political contest. Isaac P. Gray was Governor at the time, and was said to have some aspirations for a seat in the United States Senate. General Mahlon D. Manson was Lieutenant Governor. General Benjamin Harrison was United States Senator, and his term was to expire on the 4th of March 1887. General Manson was tendered a position under the Federal Government, and by accepting it vacated his office as Lieutenant Governor. The political complications arising from this vacation developed some peculiarly weak places in the constitution of the State. The constitution makes provision for the filling of vacancies in all offices in the State, with the exception of that of Lieutenant Governor, unless it can be construed that in case of a vacancy in that office the Governor has the right to appoint, under the general provision of the organic law which gives him the power to fill vacancies. If it should be construed that the Governor has the power to appoint, the State would present the strange anomaly of allowing a Governor to appoint a man who might become his

own successor. Among the duties of the Lieutenant Governor, and about the only duty he has to perform as such officer, is that of presiding over the deliberations of the Senate. The constitution provides how those duties shall be performed in his absence, or when there is a vacancy. According to the constitution the only time when the Senate can choose its own presiding officer is when the Lieutenant Governor is acting as Governor, or "shall be unable to attend as President of the Senate," and the constitution declares that the Senate can only elect a temporary presiding officer for the occasion.

A custom had grown up for the Senate, about the close of each session, to elect one of its members as "President pro tempore." It had never been thought that such an election conferred any powers, or imposed any duties, but it was always looked upon as simply a disposition on the part of the Senators to honor one of the body. Such elections had no warrant in either the constitution or the laws. At the close of the session of 1885, and at a time when, under the constitution the Senate had no power to elect a presiding officer, the Senators elected Hon. A. G. Smith, Senator from Jennings County, President pro tempore, in accordance with the custom just referred to. At that time no one dreamed of the election being anything more than honorary, but it afterward caused a political contest in which arose many complicated questions. As has been stated, Governor Gray had aspirations for a seat in the United States Senate. In these aspirations he met with some opposition in his own party. Mr. Smith also had some enemies in his party, and when Lieutenant Governor Manson vacated his office the enemies of Governor Gray, took occasion to declare that such vacation eliminated the Governor from the Senatorial race,

for two reasons: First because the party would not agree that Mr. Smith should succeed as Governor, and secondly because the Republicans might get control of the Senate and be able to elect a member of that party as President of the Senate, and he would succeed to the Governorship in case of a vacancy in that office. Some one conceived the idea that the people alone had the right to fill the vacancy, in the office of Lieutenant Governor, and the question was submitted to the Attorney General by Governor Gray. The Attorney General gave it as his opinion that the people at the next general election should choose a new Lieutenant Governor. Upon this opinion the Governor issued his proclamation for such an election. All political parties nominated candidates, the election resulting in favor of the candidate of the Republicans.

When the Senate met in 1887, it refused to acknowledge the validity of the election, and claimed that Senator Smith, by virtue of his election as President pro tempore, in 1885, was the real presiding officer of the Senate. The Republicans, on the other hand contended that their candidate having received the highest number of votes was duly elected, and was entitled to the seat. He was duly sworn into office by the House of Representatives, a majority of that body being Republican, but the Senate being Democratic, refused to permit him to enter the chamber in any other capacity than that of a private citizen. The contest got into the courts in various ways, but the main question was never settled. The struggle between the two parties lasted during the entire session, preventing any legislation of consequence, and gave rise to a number of turbulent and violent scenes.


Neither party was right in its contentions. As has been

said the Senate, under the constitution could only choose a presiding officer in certain specified contingencies, and that his powers ended when the contingency which gave rise to them ended. Neither of the contingencies existed at the time when Senator Smith was purported to have been chosen, and had either of them existed, the power conferred upon him by such election, would have ceased when the session of the Senate came to an end by constitutional limitation. This had been the uniform practice in the Senate from the first establishment of the State Government. The three most notable cases will be briefly referred to. In 1824, just before the close of the session of the Legislature, Hon. Ratliff Boon resigned his office of Lieutenant Governor, and Senator James Brown Ray, was elected as President pro tempore. At the next session of the Senate, there still being no Lieutenant Governor, the question arose whether Senator Ray, was not, by virtue of his previous election, the lawful presiding officer of the Senate. It was decided by the Senate, that his powers and duties ceased at the final adjournment of the Senate at the previous session, and that the Senate must proceed to elect a new President. Mr. Ray was re-elected, and while serving as President of the Senate became acting Governor, on the resignation of Governor Hendricks, it being the only instance in this State of a President pro tempore of the Senate becoming Governor.

The second notable case was in 1845. Hon. Jesse D. Bright, Lieutenant Governor of the State, had been elected to the United States Senate, and had resigned his office of Lieutenant Governor. Here was another of those cases wherein the Senate had the undoubted right to elect its presiding officer. The Senate was a tie politically, and a great contest arose. James Whitcomb was Governor, but he

might die or resign, and the Democrats did not want to risk a Whig following him. The balloting continued for several days, until on the ninety-ninth ballot Hon. Godlove S. Orth was elected, but with the distinct understanding that the election carried no rights or powers with it beyond the end of the session of the Senate.

The next case arose at the beginning of the regular session of the Senate in 1873. Hon. Will Cumback had been Lieutenant Governor, but like General Manson had vacated his office to accept one under the Federal Government. A special session of the General Assembly was held in 1872, and Hon. George W. Friedley, Senator from Lawrence County, had been elected President pro tempore of the Senate. At the general election of 1872, Hon. Leonidas Sexton, had been elected Lieutenant Governor, but made no attempt to take his seat until the date fixed by the constitution. So, when the regular session of the General Assembly opened in January, 1873, there was still no Lieutenant Governor, and the question arose if Senator Friedley was not the presiding officer without the formality of another election, but, as was held in the case of Senator Ray, the Senate unanimously decided that he could not act without a re-election, and he was again chosen. A few days afterward Mr. Sexton took the oath of office. At a later period it was impossible, at one time, for him to be present and preside, and again the question came up as to the powers of Senator Friedley, when it was held that his election on the first day of the session ended when the Lieutenant Governor took his seat, and he was again chosen. It will be seen from these three rulings, that the contention on behalf of Senator Smith, in 1887, was against the precedents, but the Senate acquiesced in his presiding, and that might be held as tantamount to a new election.



The contention upon the part of the Republicans was equally at fault. The constitution, in plain terms fixes the times at which a Lieutenant Governor shall be elected, and the time when he shall begin his term of office. Those times were still two years off when the pretended election took place. There was only one ground upon which the validity of the election could be maintained, and that was, that the silence of the constitution in providing how a vacancy in the office should be filled, gave the people, in their sovereign capacity, the right to decide the point for themselves, and that they had so decided it, by meeting at the various polling places and casting ballots for their choice. As it was they rested their claim upon the fact that the Governor had ordered an election, on the advice of the Attorney General. For two years Indiana presented the anomaly of having one person recognized by the Senate and by the Governor, as the Lieutenant Governor, and another person recognized by the House of Representatives and the administrative officers of the State. The Republican Senators at the session of 1897 went back upon the position held by the party in 1887 and sustained the contention of the Democrats of that year. On the first day of the session of 1897, while the legal Lieutenant Governor was present and presiding, the Republican Senators proposed to elect a President pro tempore. The Lieutenant Governor cited the provision of the constitution, and ruled that no election could take place. An appeal was taken from that ruling, and the appeal was sustained by the Republican Senators. It is needless to say that the whole proceeding was clearly illegal.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to give a detailed account of the causes which led to the war with Mexico, or even of the events of that war, only so far as they have to do with the history of Indiana. Texas had been a part of the Mexican Republic, but had declared its independence, and after a sanguinary war had successfully thrown off the authority of Mexico. At the conclusion of the war for independence the project of a union with the United States was broached in both countries. In fact the matter had been pretty generally discussed before, and it has been many times charged that the war between Texas and Mexico had been brought about by designing politicians in this country, with a view to its annexation. Be that as it may, the proposed union found many opponents, especially in the Northern States, who contended that it was advocated solely for the purpose of extending the area of slave territory. By the terms of the proposed union, Texas could be divided up into as many as five States, thus giving to the South ten additional members of the United States Senate, and an additional representation in the House of Representatives. The feeling against slavery had been growing for several years, and this proposed extension of slave territory aroused the most bitter antagonism, and added fuel to the flame of

opposition to the peculiar institution. It was also urged that the annexation of Texas would be but the prelude to a war with Mexico, and that was a thing not desired. The annexation scheme went through the lower House of Congress, but missed defeat in the Senate by a very narrow margin.

When the terms of annexation were accepted by Texas, General Zachary Taylor, who was in command of the troops in Louisiana, was ordered into Texas, and his army called the "Army of Occupation." All things pointed to war. A dispute arose as to the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, or rather the United States set up a claim to a new line. This brought on a collision between the troops under Taylor and the Mexican forces. President Polk at once issued a proclamation declaring that a state of war existed, and General Taylor was ordered to take the offensive. Measures were at once taken to increase the regular army and to call out volunteers. The first call was for a period of twelve months, and Indiana's quota was fixed at three regiments. This was afterward increased to five. The war was not popular in the North, but in the South it was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm. It gave the people of that section a vent for their overflowing military spirit, as well as opened up the extension of slave territory. Even then there was a marked difference between the North and South, in the habits and nature of the people. The North was a steady-going, prudent, money making section, caring little for military glory or the pomp of war. On the other hand, the people of the South delighted in the sound of the fife and the drum, and in military parades.

The regiments called for from the South were quickly recruited, and officered, mostly from those who had grad-



uated from West Point. Nearly all the officers of the regular army were Southerners. This arose from two causes. As a rule Northern men who entered West Point, did so for the sake of the education there afforded, and with no intention of remaining in the army, and soon after graduating sought occupations in other pursuits. A military life was suited to the Southern character, and as most of those who entered West Point from that section, were sons of the wealthy and aristocratic classes, who had private fortunes of their own, they could give their time to the army notwithstanding the small pay of the officers. As a rule the War Department of the Government had been filled for many years with men of Southern birth, and General Scott, the commanding General, was also a Southerner. It was natural that choice berths and promotions mainly went to the South. When the Mexican war came, Indiana had but few who had received a military training. Thus, her regiments were officered by volunteers. She promptly raised her quota of three regiments, and sent them to the field. The first had for its Colonel, James P. Drake, with Henry S. Lane for Lieutenant Colonel. Mr. Lane afterwards became Governor of the State and Senator in Congress. Among the captains was Robert H. Milroy, who became a Major General during the war of the rebellion, and fought with great distinction. Lew Wallace, another distinguished Major General during the rebellion, and who also won honors as a diplomat, and as the author of *Ben Hur*, was a second lieutenant in this regiment.

The first Colonel of the second regiment was Joseph Lane, soon promoted to a Brigadier Generalship, and afterward Governor of Oregon and United States Senator from that State. William A. Bowles succeeded Mr. Lane as Colo-





OLIVER P. MORTON.

nel of the regiment. Among the captains of this regiment were several who won distinction in the war of the rebellion. Nathan C. Kimball became a Brigadier General, and commanded the famous brigade which left its dead nearer the parapets at Fredericksburg than those of any of the other Union troops. Lovell H. Rosseau, became a Major General and fought on many of the famous battle fields in the West and South. W. T. Spicely and W. L. Sanderson also became Brigadiers. The third regiment was commanded by James H. Lane, who was at one time Lieutenant Governor of Indiana, and Senator from Kansas, and who was made a Brigadier General during the Rebellion. The fourth regiment had for its Colonel Willis A. Gorman. In the list of lieutenants is the name of Ebenezer Dumont, afterward a distinguished Brigadier on the Union side during the last war. On the expiration of its term of service the third regiment was disbanded, and Colonel Lane was appointed Colonel of the fifth. In this regiment Mahlon D. Manson served as a Captain. Mr. Manson became a Brigadier in the late war, and was at one time Lieutenant Governor of the State.

From one cause and another, the South won about all the honors in the war, and Indiana, through an unfortunate occurrence at the battle of Buena Vista, suffered a blight for many years. At that battle the second Indiana regiment, under command of Colonel Bowles, broke and fled from the field, and without examining into all the circumstances the regiment was censured, and Jefferson Davis, who commanded the Mississippi Rifles, and afterward became the President of the Southern Confederacy, in his report of the operations of his regiment in the battle, fastened a stigma on the Indiana regiment. This stigma was undeserved. It is true that the regiment broke and left the field in great dis-

order, but up to the very moment of its breaking it had acted with conspicuous gallantry, and some of its members rallied and returned to the field, and assisted in saving the Mississippi regiment from what might have been a disastrous overthrow. For the good name of the State it is proper that the circumstances connected with the battle of Buena Vista be detailed. The second Indiana, supporting a small battery of artillery had been placed, by General Lane, several hundred yards in advance of the other American troops, and in a most trying and exposed position. They were exposed to a heavy fire of musketry and artillery. General Lane thought by making another advance his troops would not only get nearer the enemy, but would find a less exposed position. The battery at once took the new position assigned it, but the infantry turned to the right and left, hastily leaving the field. In their flight they were met by the Mississippi Rifles, when Colonel Davis endeavored to rally them, calling to them that his regiment was a "mass of men behind whom they could rally and find protection." About two hundred of them did rally, and again entered the battle, assisting the Mississippians in repulsing a charge of the Mexicans. They then hastened to a plateau on which General Taylor was stationed with Bragg's battery, and there joined in repulsing the last charge of the Mexicans.

It was charged that Colonel Bowles gave the order to retreat, but he always insisted that no such order was given, and that the regiment began the retreat of its own motion. Before the court of inquiry it was proved that the order to retreat had been given, but the responsibility for the order was never fixed. Those who did not again join in the battle at the front, rallied and assisted in defending the trains in the rear. Among the acts of individual gallantry of members

of the regiment, that of Gilles Chapman ought not to be forgotten. When the regiment broke he returned to the battle field to carry off a wounded comrade, right in the face of a charge of the Mexican lancers, and lost his own life, his body having eleven lance thrusts through it. In his report of the battle General Taylor thus speaks of the second regiment:

"In the meantime the enemy was concentrating a large force of infantry and cavalry under cover of the ridges, with the obvious intention of forcing our left, which was posted on an extensive plateau. The second Indiana and the second Illinois regiments formed this part of the line, the former covering three pieces of light artillery under the orders of Captain O'Brien—Brigadier General Lane being in immediate command. In order to bring his men into effective range General Lane ordered the artillery and the second Indiana regiment forward. The artillery advanced within musket range of a heavy body of Mexican infantry, and was served against it with great effect, but without being able to check its advance. The infantry ordered to its support had fallen back in disorder, being exposed, as well as the battery, not only to a severe fire of small arms from the front, but also to a murderous cross fire of grape and cannister from a Mexican battery on the left." In another part of his report he highly commended the third Indiana regiment for its part in the battle, and that portion of the second which returned to the field, mentioning with especial distinction Lieutenant Colonel Hadden of the second regiment.

The report of the killed and wounded of the regiment in the battle proves that it was not lacking in gallantry. It lost in killed, three officers and thirty-two non-commissioned

officers and privates; in wounded, eight officers and seventy-one non-commissioned officers and privates, and four missing; a total of one hundred and eighteen. In the same battle the third regiment lost in killed, one officer and eight privates; wounded, three officers and fifty-three privates. a total of sixty-five. The fourth Indiana was conspicuous in the fight at Huamantla, and at Puebla, under the command of General Lane. Indiana furnished to the Mexican war a total of 4,470 men. Besides those killed in battle 218 died from disease.

Just before the battle of Buena Vista a duel between General Joseph Lane and Colonel James H. Lane was narrowly averted. A dispute had arisen between those two officers over a trivial matter. General Lane became incensed at some remark of the Colonel, and at once produced a pair of duelling pistols, and asked the Colonel to take his choice. He readily seized one of the weapons, but before the men could fire, friends rushed between them. The affair did not end there. Colonel Lane left the tent and took his place at the head of his regiment, which was drawn up for dress parade. While the regiment was thus drawn up, the General approached with an old fashioned rifle on his shoulder, and called loudly to the Colonel to arm and defend himself. Colonel Lane at once ordered one of the color guard to load his musket with ball cartridge. While this was being done, fortunately the officer of the day appeared, and placed both men under arrest. Had he not acted with such promptness a great tragedy might have followed. The second regiment was devoted to the General, and when it heard of the difficulty began arming itself to avenge their commander, while the third, which was equally devoted to the Colonel, stood ready to do battle in his cause. These two men were the

most distinguished soldiers Indiana had in the Mexican war, and a brief sketch of them will not be out of place here.

Joseph Lane was born in Buncombe County, North Carolina, December 14, 1801. At the age of fifteen he came to Indiana, settling in Warrick County. He was elected to the Legislature before he was twenty-one, and had to wait until he reached a legal age before he took his seat. For nearly a quarter of a century he was a member of the Legislature, serving in one House or the other. When the Mexican war came he was a member of the Senate. He resigned and joined Captain Walker's company as a private. When the second regiment was organized he was chosen Colonel, and on the 1st day of July, 1846, was appointed a Brigadier General by President Polk, at the suggestion of Robert Dale Owen, who was then a member of Congress. He at once proceeded to Mexico. He served both under Taylor and Scott, and commanded at the battle of Huamantla. Soon after the close of the war he was appointed, by President Polk, Governor of Oregon Territory. In 1850 he was removed from office by President Taylor, but the next year was elected a delegate to Congress, and continued as such until Oregon was admitted as a State into the Union, when he was sent to the Senate, and remained a member of that body until 1861. In 1860 he was nominated for Vice President, by one wing of the Democracy, on the ticket with John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky.

After leaving the Senate he never again held public office. He was severely wounded at the battle of Buena Vista, and again while he was a delegate in Congress, in a conflict with the Indians. As Governor of the Territory of Oregon General Lane had acquired great influence with the Indians. While he was absent attending Congress at Wash-



ington, the Indians became hostile and broke into insurrection. President Pierce asked General Lane to return to Oregon and take command of the troops detailed for suppressing the Indian uprising. He did so and took command of the army. He found the Indians intrenched and well protected by fallen trees. Stopping his troops he advanced alone and demanded a parley. He was fired on and shot through the shoulder. He gave no evidence of his wound, but continued to advance until he was recognized by some of the chiefs. He then demanded the surrender of the Indians who had been guilty of killing the settlers, telling them that he was determined to have them, but if they were surrendered he would make peace with the tribes. They were surrendered, and afterward hanged. He received another wound that troubled him the remainder of his life. Returning from hunting, one day, while in the act of dismounting from his horse, a pistol he carried in his hip pocket, was discharged, the ball entering his back and coming out in front, near the hip joint.

General Lane retired from the Senate a poor man, and built himself a log cabin on the top of a mountain, and there with his wife, who had been his companion for fifty years, lived until his death in 1881. General Lane was about five feet nine inches high, and had a ruddy complexion and dark hazel eyes. He was a man of unusual physical strength and of great personal bravery. He was not a man of great talents, but was possessed of strong force of character. He read a great deal, and remembered what he read. He was a Southerner by birth, and his affiliations were all with that section, so in Congress he was the steadfast friend of the institution of slavery.

Colonel James H. Lane was a son of Amos Lane, one of

the most distinguished lawyers of Indiana in the early days, and who served in Congress from 1832 to 1836. James H., was a brilliant speaker, of a fiery and impetuous temper. At the first call for troops to engage in the war with Mexico, he threw his heart and soul into the work of recruiting. He was made Colonel of the third regiment, and commanded it until the expiration of its term of service, when he returned to Indiana and recruited the fifth regiment, and departed for Mexico. In 1849 he was elected Lieutenant Governor of Indiana, holding that office until 1852. He served in Congress one term, from 1853 to 1855. At that time the struggle between the free State and the pro-slavery men in Kansas was about to break out. Kansas promised to be a scene of turmoil just suited to the nature and temperament of Colonel Lane, and he went to that Territory. He soon became recognized as one of the leaders of the free State party, and took a leading part in the scenes of violence which deluged the Territory with blood. He was indicted, with others, for treason, and for awhile fled the Territory, but recruiting a large number of immigrants from the Northern States, he returned at their head. He organized a small army and had several engagements with the Missouri men, being uniformly successful. His hasty temper served to embroil him several times with some of his associates, and he engaged in two or three personal encounters. When Kansas was admitted into the Union as a State, he was elected to the United States Senate and served from 1861 until 1866 when he took his own life.

The following is an epitome of the principal military events of the Mexican War:

A reconnoitering party of seventy from the army of General Taylor, under command of Colonel Thornton, fired upon and taken prisoners by the Mexicans, April 24, 1846.

General Taylor defeated the Mexicans in two engagements at Palo Alto, May 8 and 9, 1846; American loss, forty-eight killed and one hundred and twenty-six wounded; Mexican, two hundred and sixty-two killed and three hundred and fifty-five wounded.

Monterey taken by Commodore Sloat, July 6, 1846.

Santa Fe occupied by General Kearney, August 18, 1846.

Battle of Monterey, September 21-23, 1846. Americans, 4,700 under General Taylor, defeated the Mexicans, 10,000 strong, under command of General Ampudia. American loss, one hundred and twenty-three killed, three hundred and sixty-eight wounded. Monterey surrendered.

Tobasco bombarded by Commodore Perry, October 25, 1846.

Tampico occupied by Commodore Connor, November 14, 1846.

Colonel Doniphan, with four hundred and fifty Missouri volunteers, defeated one thousand and one hundred Mexicans at Barito, the Mexicans losing sixty-three killed and one hundred and fifty wounded, while the American loss was only six wounded, January 8, 1847. The same day General Kearney defeated the revolted Californians at San Gabriel.

Major Borland, Cassius M. Clay, Major Gaines and eighty men were taken prisoners by the Mexicans at Encarnacion, January 23, 1847.

Revolt against the Americans in New Mexico, January 14, 1847. The American, Governor Bent, and five others were killed.

One thousand five hundred New Mexican Indians, and Mexicans, defeated by Colonel Price, January 24, 1847.

Battle of Buena Vista, February 22-23, 1847. The Amer-

icans, 4,760 strong, were commanded by Generals Taylor and Wool. The Mexicans, under Santa Anna, numbered 22,000. They were totally defeated with a loss of six thousand killed and wounded. The American loss was two hundred and sixty-seven killed, and four hundred and fifty-six wounded.

Americans, under Colonel Doniphan, about nine hundred strong, defeated a force of four thousand Mexicans at Sacramento, February 28, 1847. American loss, one killed and eight wounded; Mexican, three hundred killed, three hundred and forty prisoners.

Vera Cruz surrendered to General Scott and Commodore Perry, March 29, 1847. The American loss during the siege, sixty-five killed and wounded.

Alvarado surrendered to Lieutenant Hunter, of the navy, April 2, 1847.

Battle of Cerro Gordo, April 18, 1847. Americans, 8,500 under General Scott, defeated 12,000 Mexicans under Santa Anna. The American loss was two hundred and fifty; that of the Mexicans three hundred and fifty, besides five Generals and 3,000 men captured.

Taspan taken by Commodore Perry, April 18, 1847.

Battles of Contreras and Cherubusco, August 20, 1847. The Americans were under the command of General Scott, and lost one thousand and sixty-six killed and wounded. The Mexican loss was six thousand.

Battle of Molino del Rey, September 8, 1847. The American forces were led by General Worth, and lost seven hundred and eighty-seven killed and wounded. The Mexican loss was three thousand.

Battle of Chapultepec, September 12-13, 1847. American loss eight hundred and sixty-two.

City of Mexico surrendered, September 14, 1847.

Siege of Puebla, by the Mexicans, raised October 12, 1847.

City of Huamantla, captured by the Americans under General Lane, October 19, 1847, the Americans losing twenty-four killed and wounded and the Mexicans one hundred and fifty.

Guaymas captured by the navy, October 20, 1847.

General Scott superseded by General Butler, February 18, 1848.

Treaty of peace ratified at Queretaro, May 30, 1848. Hon. A. H. Sevier and Hon. Nathan Clifford represented the United States, and Signor De la Rosa the Mexicans.

American troops finally withdrew from the City of Mexico, June 12, 1848.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### WAR OF THE REBELLION.

Anything like a history of the great War of the Rebellion could not be attempted in a work like this. Nor would it be possible to give more than a cursory glance at the part played by Indiana and Indiana soldiers, in that great strife for the life of the Nation. It is proper, however, that some of the more salient features of that struggle, and of Indiana's connection with them be given. To the historian this is a grateful task, for in all the history of those five eventful years, and of the bloody struggles, the terrible defeats and the glorious victories, he is not called upon to record a stain upon a single regiment or battery of all those sent out by Indiana. Each and every one of them, on all occasions bore themselves heroically; and Indiana will ever be proud of the record made by them. No State of the Union won a prouder position during the four years of contest than did Indiana, and the prowess and steady behavior of Indiana's citizen soldiery won plaudits from every commander under whom they marched or fought, and their blood reddened nearly every battlefield on which the friends and defenders of the Union contended for victory with those who sought to establish a Southern Confederacy. They were more widely distributed than the soldiers of any other State. They marched and fought in every one of the seced-

ing States except Florida, and in every loyal State that was invaded by the enemy. There was hardly an army corps that did not have one or more Indiana regiments or a battery or two; there were but few divisions, in fact, which they did not lead.

Three Indiana regiments took part in the first battle of the war, and an Indianian was the first to yield up his life, on the battlefield, for the Union. The name of this early victim, offered on the altar of the Union, was William T. Girard. He was a member of Company G, Ninth Indiana Regiment, and died on the field of Laurel Hill. The last battle of the war was fought by Indiana troops, and the last gun fired at the enemy was by an Indianian, and the last Union soldier killed in battle was John J. Williams, of Company B, Thirty-Fourth Indiana Regiment. On the Fourth of July, 1866, the flags of the Indiana troops were presented to Governor Morton to be deposited in the State House at Indianapolis. The presentation address was made by Major General Lew Wallace. In that address he said:

"Three of our regiments took part in the first battle of the war, while another, in view of the Rio Grande, fought its very last battle. The first regiment under Butler, to land at the wharf at New Orleans, was the Twenty-First Indiana. The first flag over the bloody parapet at Fort Wagner, in front of Charleston, was that of the Thirteenth Indiana. The first to show their stars from the embattled crest of Mission Ridge, were those of the Seventy-Ninth and Eighty-Sixth Indiana. Two of our regiments helped storm Fort McAllister, down by Savannah. Another was among the first in the assaulting line at Fort Fisher. Another, converted into engineers, built all of Sherman's bridges from Chattanooga to Atlanta, from Atlanta to the

sea, and from the sea northward. Another, in line of battle, on the beach of Hampton Roads, saw the frigate Cumberland sink to the harbor's bed, rather than strike her flag, and, in looking from the same place, the next day, cheered as never men cheered, at the sight of the same Merrimac beaten by a single gun in the turret of Worden's little Monitor. Others aided in the overthrow of the savages, red and rebel, at Pea Ridge, Missouri. Three from Washington, across the peninsula, within sight of Richmond evacuated, to Harrison's Landing, followed McClellan to his fathomless fall. Five were engaged in the salvation of Washington at Antietam. Four were with Burnside at Fredericksburg, where some of Kimball's Hoosiers were picked up lying nearer than all others to the pitiless embrasures. Five were at Chancellorsville, where Stonewall Jackson took victory out of Hooker's hands and carried it with him to his grave. Six were almost annihilated at Gettysburg. One, an infantry regiment, marched nearly ten thousand miles, literally twice around the rebellion, fighting as it went. Four were a part of the besom with which Sheridan swept the Shenandoah Valley. Finally, when Grant, superseding Halleck, transferred his headquarters to the East, and began the last grand march toward Richmond, four of our regiments, joined soon after by another, followed him faithfully, leaving their dead all along the way—in the Wilderness, at Laurel Hill, at Spottsylvania, at Po River, at North Anna River, at Bethesda Church, at Cold Harbor, in front of Petersburg, down to Clover Hill—down to the final halt in the war, in which Lee yielded up the sword of rebellion.

“But, sir, most of the flags returned to you, belong to regiments whose theater of operations cannot well be territorially described; whose lines of march were backward and



forward through fifteen States of the Union. If one seeks the field in which the power of our State, as well as the valor of our people, had the finest exemplification, he must look to the West and the South. I will not say that Indiana's contributions to the cause were indispensable to final success. That would be unjust to States more populous and wealthy, and equally devoted. But I will say that her quotas precipitated the result; without them the war might yet be in full progress and doubtful. Let us consider this proposition a moment. At Shiloh Indiana had thirteen regiments; at Vicksburg she had twenty-four; at Stone River twenty-five; at Chickamauga twenty-seven; at Mission Ridge twenty; in the advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta fifty; at Atlanta Sherman divided them so that exactly twenty-five went with him down to the sea, while twenty-five marched back with Thomas and were in at the annihilation of Hood at Nashville. What a record is thus presented! Ask Grant, or Rosecrans, or Sherman, if from the beginning to the end of their operations there was a day for which they could have spared those regiments? No; without them Bragg might yet be on Lookout Mountain; or Sherman still toiling, like a Titan, among the gorges of Kenesaw and Resaca; or worse yet, Halleck, that only one of all our Generals who never even saw a battle, might be General-in-Chief, waiting for the success at Vicksburg to reduce him to his proper level—chief of a nameless staff."

The orator might have truthfully added that the Indiana troops left their dead in seventeen States and one Territory of the Union. Wherever an enemy was to be met or a battle fought Indiana soldiers were to be found, always willing and always ready for any duty. Even under the most adverse circumstances they fought, and fought well. Every General

under whom they served has borne willing testimony to their bravery and devotion.

This record was a proud one, and lifted Indiana to the front rank of the loyal States. The devotion of the soldiery was no greater than that of the citizens who remained at home, or of the wives, mothers and daughters of those who went to the front. In all the good work of caring for the sick and wounded; for the families of those who had taken up arms, Indiana was in the lead. It was in Indiana that the great Sanitary Commission was born. It was an Indiana Governor who first conceived the idea, and put in practice, the work of relieving the sick and wounded by having them conveyed home and cared for by loving hands until restored to health. The good and patriotic people of Indiana poured out their contributions for the work of relief, until their gifts amounted to millions of dollars. It should be remembered, too, that at that time Indiana was by no means a wealthy community. It was a growing and prosperous commonwealth, but it had just emerged from a period of remarkable business depression, and while the people were what might be called "well to do," none were wealthy in the sense that term is now used. It is, therefore, fitting and right that some pages in a work of this kind, should be devoted to recording at least some of the features and incidents of a war in which Indiana bore so prominent and so honorable a part.

For some years prior to 1860 the opposition to the extension of the slave area in the United States had been rapidly growing. At the same time the feeling in the slave States that the scope of their peculiar institution must be widened, or it would soon be doomed to extinction, had also been growing, and becoming more intensified. In the earlier

years of our Government the South had dominated in political strength and influence. The great West, however, was beginning to assert itself, and the States and Territories were filling up with a hardy and thrifty people. If slavery should be confined to the States in which it then existed, it would not be long before the West and East would be so strong in Congress that they would have the power, if so minded to use it, to overthrow slavery in the States. By what has been known as the Missouri Compromise the slave area had been limited. It could go nowhere beyond the limits of the States wherein it had existed from the beginning. If slavery was not to be doomed, sooner or later, the barriers had to be broken down, and the first step was to repeal the Missouri Compromise, or to practically abrogate it. That would let slavery into Kansas, Nebraska, and all the other growing Territories of the Northwest.

This attempt brought on a crisis in the affairs of the Nation, and rapidly crystallized the feeling of hostility to the institution itself. A new political party was born, the principal article in its creed being a determined opposition to the further extension of slavery. This new, or Republican party, soon got control in several of the Northern States, and had even elected a majority of the members of the Congressional House of Representatives. This still further alarmed the advocates of slavery, and dark threats were made of an ultimate dissolution of the Union should the Republicans ever succeed in getting control of the National Government by the election of a President. To prepare for this dissolution, and the war which might result, the South began the collection of arms and munitions of war. All the people of the South were not in favor of a dissolution of the Union, and it is probable that the disunion-






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ists did not have a majority in any State, with the exception of South Carolina, but the advocates of that policy were the leaders of the people of those States, and were bold and aggressive, and finally succeeded in carrying their point.

During the political campaign of 1860 the tension on the public mind grew more and more intense. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was the candidate of the Republicans for President. The Democrats were divided and had two candidates in the field—Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, the candidate of the Northern wing of the party, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, of the Southern wing. A fourth candidate was John Bell, of Tennessee. Threats of secession and war were made at the South, but the people of the North did not believe that war would come, and rested in security, believing that the wrath of the South would soon end in peace. Mr. Lincoln was elected in November, and almost immediately thereafter, South Carolina declared itself out of the Union. This example was followed by several of the other States, and before Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated seven States had seceded, and in February, 1861, their representatives had met at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a provisional government, which was made permanent on March 11. Four other States eventually united with them. Still the North did not believe war would ensue. In fact, many of the leaders openly advocated the idea of permitting the seceded States to try the experiment of self-government, believing they would soon tire of it, and seek re-admission into the Union. Some, however, of the Northern leaders did believe that war would follow, and they earnestly began urging a preparation for it. Among the most active of these was Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, who had just been elected Lieutenant Governor of the

State. On the 16th of January, 1861, Mr. Morton became Governor of the State, owing to the election to the United States Senate of Governor Henry S. Lane. On March 4th Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated President. An attempt had previously been made to reinforce and victual Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, and the vessel bearing the reinforcements and supplies, had been fired upon and driven off, but with this exception no open act of hostility had been committed, unless the seizure of forts, arsenals, arms, and other property of the Government, lying in the seceded States, could be called such.

This condition of peace, however, was destined to be soon rudely broken, and an era of war ushered in that was to cost hundreds of thousands of lives, and billions of money and property, and leave one great section of the country, for the time-being, desolate and almost destroyed, but it was to leave a nation stronger than ever before, and without a slave in all its borders. On the 12th of April, 1861, fire was opened on Fort Sumter by the troops of South Carolina, and as the fort was only feebly garrisoned, and almost without supplies, it was soon reduced. Three days later President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops. Before this call was issued Gov. Morton had telegraphed the President, offering ten thousand soldiers from Indiana, to enforce the laws and defend the flag of the country. The President's proclamation was issued on the 15th of April, and Indiana's quota was fixed at six regiments of infantry. On the sixteenth, Governor Morton issued a call on the people for the six regiments, and almost instantly the sound of the drum and fife was heard in every village and hamlet of the State, and volunteers rushed to Indianapolis in such numbers that it was almost impossible to take care of them.



The State Fair Grounds, at Indianapolis, were taken for army purposes, and the recruits were there formed into companies and regiments. Some companies were ready to go into camp before the night of the 16th, and in less than ten days enough had offered themselves to form twenty regiments instead of six. Governor Morton also called the State Legislature together in extraordinary session. Governor Morton, not believing that the war would be over in ninety days, the limit of time fixed in the first call for troops by the President, tendered to the Government six additional regiments to serve a longer period of time, or for the war. The offer not being at once accepted, the Governor determined to put the troops into camp and maintain them, at the expense of the State, until such time as they would be needed by the General Government. The six regiments originally called for were hurried to the front, one after another, as they could be made ready. The General Government not being able to clothe or arm so large a body of men, on such short notice, Governor Morton determined to clothe and arm them, himself, looking to the Government to reimburse the State. He sent agents East for the purchase of both arms and clothing, and subsequently sent Hon. Robert Dale Owen to Europe for the same purpose.

The State treasury not being well supplied with funds, the patriotic bankers of the State stepped forward, and offered the Governor whatever funds he would need, as did also the celebrated banking firm of Winslow, Lanier & Co., of New York. It cannot be now known just how much money was furnished by the banks at different times, to meet the exigencies of the State authorities, but the sum was very large, for many regiments, at different times, were paid out of funds furnished by the banks of Indianapolis, in order



that their departure to the points of danger might be speedily made. Governor Morton also established an arsenal for the manufacture of ammunition of all kinds, and it was operated under his supervision until the close of the war. This arsenal not only supplied the State troops for the defense of the borders, but supplied the Union armies in the field, with hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth, and that, too, frequently, when the armies would have been compelled to retreat from the front, for want of ammunition, had not these supplies been furnished.

Five of the first six regiments were sent to operate in West Virginia, and there fought the first battles of the war. The remaining regiment, the eleventh, was sent to Cumberland, Maryland, and it was a scouting party from that regiment, that shed the first blood in battle on the soil of old Virginia. Thus it was, that Indiana was the first to the front both in West Virginia and in Old Virginia. The Legislature met, and promptly provided for the borrowing of two million dollars, to aid in the support and organization of troops for the defense of the Union. It will be in place, at this point, to say that so energetic was the Governor, so patriotic were the people, that every call made on Indiana for troops, was filled in the shortest space of time, by volunteers, until after the war had been raging for three and a half years, with the single exception of a small draft made in 1862, in a few localities, for the purpose of equalizing the burdens; those localities having been a little slack in furnishing their quota of volunteers. At every call Indiana had some troops standing to her credit. No State in the Union was more prompt in this matter. It is also proper to state, that to preserve the Union, Indiana furnished more soldiers than did the thirteen original colonies to establish

it. For the war with Mexico the United States called into service 112,000 soldiers, or 96,000 less than Indiana furnished during the civil war.

To show the magnitude of the struggle, and the part Indiana bore in it, a few figures will suffice. The American loss in killed, during the last war with Great Britain, was 1,877; in the war with Mexico, 1,953, making a total in killed in two great wars of 3,830. This includes those who died from wounds received. In the last war Indiana lost in killed, 3,434; died from wounds, 2,383, or a total loss of 5,817, or 2,000 more than the total loss of the whole country, in two great wars. In the war of 1812-15 the loss to the American armies from killed and wounded was 5,614, or 203 less than Indiana lost in killed alone, or died from wounds. The total loss, in killed and wounded in the Mexican war, was only 4,373, as against a loss by death alone from wounds, or killed outright, of Indiana troops, of 5,817. Indiana also lost, during the same time, 19,392 who died from disease, making a total loss during the war of 24,416.

For four years Indiana was a vast recruiting field, and all the energies of the people were turned toward the war and its prosecution. The cost of the war, in money, to the people amounted to many millions of dollars. In addition to what was expended by the State the counties and townships expended a total of \$20,258,640. They gave in the way of bounties, \$15,492,876; for relief of soldiers and their families, \$4,566,898, and for miscellaneous expenses, growing out of the war, \$198,866.

When the news came that Fort Sumter had been fired upon, all political differences were laid aside for the time being, and all were anxious to show their loyalty to the Union. Meetings were held everywhere, and the spirit of

loyalty inculcated. Every little victory that was won by the Union troops was hailed with delight, while defeat seemed only to bind the people more firmly to the cause of the Union. So went on the year 1861, the first of the war. The first six regiments that were sent to the field, were only enlisted for three months, but on their return to the State they were filled up with recruits, and again sent forward. Indiana had furnished five regiments to the Mexican war, and the numbering of the regiments for the civil war began with the sixth.

There were not many victories to cheer the hearts of the Union people, during the first year of the war, while one defeat, that at Bull Run, at the time seemed almost crushing in its effects, but in comparison with many of the later battles it was only a small skirmish. The first Indiana troops saw service in West Virginia, under General George B. McClellan, and it was the prestige he won in that campaign which made him Commander-in-Chief of the Union forces. It is due to Indiana, however, to say, that the West Virginia campaign was planned and mainly fought by General Thomas A. Morris, who went to the front in command of the Indiana troops. As is often the case, his superior officer got the credit and the glory. All during the summer of 1861 troops were being raised, and the work of shaping peaceful citizens into trained soldiers went on. It had dawned on the minds of the people, by this time, that the war was not to be a holiday affair. Several of the Indiana regiments were still in the mountains of West Virginia, and as the Government had not been able to fairly organize its various departments, so as to promptly furnish its soldiers with all things needful for their comfort, and as the Indiana troops were suffering from the cold, Governor Morton conceived the idea of help-

ing them from home, and purchased what he could, and called upon the people for contributions for the rest. There, was the first inception of the great Sanitary Commission, but it did not take actual form until some months later.

The year 1862 dawned rather gloomily for the Unionists. The great army that had been collected in and around Washington, had practically done nothing, and the enemy daily paraded almost in sight of the dome of the capitol. Many small engagements had been fought, in some of which the Union troops had been successful, and in others had been defeated. General Grant had fought his first battle, November 7, 1861, at Belmont, Missouri, and it was a sort of a rift in the cloud. On the other side they could boast of Bull Run, Ball's Bluff and Big Bethel. The Confederates were greatly encouraged, and it was uncertain what foreign nations might do. The first great flash of patriotism that had swept over the country, had been so strong that it had smothered whatever peace feeling there might have been in the North, but the little progress made in bringing the war to a successful conclusion, and the uncertainties which had been displayed at Washington, in the National councils, had, by the end of 1861, brought forth quite a feeling of opposition to the further continuance of the war. Many were beginning to believe that the rebellion never could be suppressed. In many parts of Indiana were those who had originally come from the South, and their feelings and sympathies went largely with that section, in the controversy. By the beginning of 1862 these people began to make themselves heard, and after awhile a very decided opposition to the further continuance of the war grew up.

In January, 1862, however, came the first decided victory for the Union troops in the West, and it sent a thrill of joy

over the country. It was fought at Mill Springs, Kentucky, January 19th and 20th, and Indiana troops were in the forefront of the battle. The Union troops in this battle were commanded by General George H. Thomas. Two weeks later Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, fell before the gunboats of Commodore Foote, as General Grant was marching with his command to attack it. This was rapidly followed by the siege and capture of Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland, only a few miles from Fort Henry. This was the first great victory of the Union troops in the war. The news swept over the country, starting anew the fires of patriotism and hope.

The steadiest and bravest of the troops, in that first great Union success, were those from Indiana. When the Confederates made their last desperate effort to cut their way out of the beleaguered fortress, they assaulted the troops of McClellan, with the most determined bravery. In McClellan's division, among the troops which clung longest to their positions, Indiana regiments could be counted. When McClellan could hold on no longer, and was giving way, a brigade, mainly composed of Indiana troops, and commanded by an Indiana officer, hurried to his help, and by a bold assault checked the Confederate advance. They fought for hours, holding back the desperate enemy. General Wallace held his ground firmly, and formed a new line behind which those who had borne the brunt of the fight might re-form. The Confederates had seized the road by which they could make good their retreat, but the Eleventh Indiana, and a Missouri regiment, hurled themselves on the enemy, drove them back and again closed the line of retreat. Wallace and McClellan held the recaptured lines, retook the artillery, which had been lost earlier in the day, and

when night came, the Confederates saw their doom and prepared for surrender. The result of this great battle was to give the Union troops command of the Cumberland River, and nearly fifteen thousand prisoners. It had another and a very important result—it turned the eyes of the country to General U. S. Grant, as a man who believed in fighting, and who was capable of conceiving great things, and of carrying them out.

The spirited reply of General Grant to the Confederate commander, who asked what terms were demanded for the surrender of the fort, that no terms would be given but “unconditional surrender,” and that he proposed to “move immediately on his works,” struck the very key note of the war, and gave life and hope to the Nation. In March followed the victory of Pea Ridge, Missouri. Union troops had also succeeded in making a lodgment at several places in North Carolina, under the command of General Ambrose E. Burnside, a native of Indiana. Several minor engagements had been fought, in most of which the Union troops had been successful.

The battle of Fort Donelson gave birth to the Sanitary Commission. Immediately on the receipt of news that an engagement was in progress, in which Indiana troops were taking part, Governor Morton called upon the people for supplies for the sick and wounded, and at once forwarded two steamers, loaded with the contributions, under charge of agents, specially appointed for the purpose.

On April 6 and 7, 1862, was fought the great battle of Shiloh, in many respects the most hotly contested and most destructive battle of the war. The capture of Fort Donelson had been far reaching in its results. Its loss to the Confederates had forced them to abandon Nashville, and other

important points, and gave to the Union forces a great scope of country. The Confederates had concentrated at Corinth, and in March, General Grant had ascended the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing, with the intent, as soon as he could concentrate his troops at that point, of marching to the attack of Corinth. Before he was ready to move, however, the Confederate commander sought to destroy him, and on Sunday, April 6, made a most determined attack. The Union troops were slowly forced back to the river, and when night came it looked as if the Confederates had won a great victory. The losses had been very heavy, and almost one entire division of Grant's army had been taken prisoner, but reinforcements for General Grant were coming up, and he determined to renew the fight the next morning. On Sunday the Confederates had been the attacking party, but on Monday General Grant took the initiative, and after several hours of hard fighting completely defeated the Confederates. In this battle also Indiana troops prominently figured.

No history of the connection of Indiana with the war of the rebellion should be written without placing on record certain facts in regard to the battle of Shiloh. A distinguished soldier of Indiana, and a man whose commanding talents in other walks of life, have reflected great credit on the State, long suffered a great injustice from a misapprehension, to say the very least, of his actions on the first day of the battle, and for years his conduct was misrepresented in newspaper discussions of the battle, and this error has been perpetuated in some so-called histories. Brigadier General Lew Wallace had been promoted to a Major Generalship for his gallant conduct at the taking of Fort Donelson, and was placed in command of a division of the army

when it ascended the Tennessee River. He was placed at Crump's Landing, between Pittsburg Landing and Savannah. His troops did not arrive on the battle field until after dark on Sunday night, and too late to take part in the battle of that day. It was charged that he lost his way; that he actually marched away from the battle field, and that he was ordered to come up by one road and deliberately took another. General Grant, in his memoirs, at first made some such statements, but in a note makes a partial correction, but still leaves a reflection upon General Wallace. General Grant must have been somewhat confused when he wrote his memoirs, for his text and his note do not wholly agree, and when tried by the other memoirs and histories, there is a great lack of harmony.

General Grant in his memoirs says that Captain Baxter, one of his staff, was instructed to go to Wallace and order him to march immediately to Pittsburg Landing, by the road nearest the river, and that Baxter made a memorandum of the order. To give a clear understanding of the situation, for by the situation of the troops must this noted order be gauged, it is proper to give the positions of the various forces comprising Grant's army when the battle opened. Sherman had the right of the army, his right resting at Shiloh church. To his left was McClernand, with Prentiss on his left. Sherman's troops were formed at right angles to the river. Wallace had three brigades. One was at Crump's Landing, six miles from Pittsburg Landing; one was at Stoney Lonesome, two miles out from the river and five miles from Shiloh church, and one at Adamsville, still farther out. From Stoney Lonesome to the right of Sherman, at Shiloh church, a road had been generally corduroyed by Wallace, to a bridge over Owl Creek. This road was constructed for the



purpose of expediting reinforcements, in case of a battle. Grant knew this. As he went down the river on the morning of the battle, he found Wallace on a boat waiting for him at Crump's Landing. He says that he ordered him to get his division ready to march, and that Wallace informed him it was ready. Before Grant came along Wallace had ordered all his brigades to concentrate at Stoney Lonesome, and he so informed Grant. So when Grant reached the battle field, he knew Wallace's division was at Stoney Lonesome and not at Crump's Landing.

Just when the order was issued it is hard to determine. Grant says he reached the battle field at Pittsburg Landing at eight o'clock, or rather the front. It was after that time the order was issued, and it was before ten, because General Sherman, in his memoirs, says Grant came out to him at ten o'clock, while he was fighting at the church, and in the conversation told him he had ordered Wallace up, and to form on his right. It seems that no one discovered that Wallace had blundered until about a year after the battle had been fought, and after newspaper critics had bitterly assailed Grant, and had given Buell the credit of saving Grant's army. Two days after the battle Grant, in reporting the battle to Halleck, says that at about 11 o'clock Wallace was ordered to move to Pittsburg Landing, but says nothing of his taking a wrong road. The time of issuing the order, and the time of its receipt, are important points in the controversy. It was issued at or before 10 o'clock, as shown by Sherman's memoirs. It could not have been issued before eight, but all the circumstances point to about 9 o'clock as the time. General Grant says it was delivered about 11, but General Wallace, and his staff officers and brigade commanders, put it at half after eleven. In his memoirs

General Grant conveys the inference that he gave the order direct to Captain Baxter, and that it was reduced to writing in his presence. If that was so, his staff officers were all at fault. About a year after the battle, when the critics had started the controversy over the battle, General Grant called upon the members of his staff to give their recollection of the matter. In response, Captain Rowley says the order was to direct Wallace to march with his division up the river road, and into the field, "on the right of the line." The phrase "right of the line," becomes very important. Captain Rawlins, in his reply, said that Grant ordered him to send Baxter with orders to Wallace to bring forward his division by the river road, and form a line of battle in the rear of the camp of Major General Smith. He also says that Baxter was fearful he might make some mistake, and asked for a written order, and that they boarded a steamer, procured pen and ink, and Baxter wrote the order at his (Rawlins') dictation. In his reply Rawlins sets out the order in full, but as no copy was kept of it, he necessarily must have depended upon his memory.

It will be seen that where Wallace was to form was at one place, according to Captain Rowley, and at another and very different place, by Captain Rawlins. The camp of General Smith was in the rear of the center of Grant's line. General Wallace, and all his staff officers, as well as his brigade commanders, who saw and read the order, as received, unite in saying that it was written on a dirty piece of paper, with a pencil and not with ink. They all agree that the order read that he was to march to the "Purdy road," and was to form on the right of the army, the very position assigned him by Captain Rowley and General Sherman. It is evident that Captain Rawlins was mistaken about the writing of

the order, and being mistaken in that was doubtless mistaken as to what it contained. As has been said, when the order was issued the right of the army was at Shiloh church, about three miles out from the river. General Grant says that was the key to his position. General Sherman says the same, and at 10 o'clock, at least an hour after the order was issued, Sherman was still holding the key, and expressed himself as being confident he could continue to do so. Wallace was only five miles away, at Stoney Lonesome. To bring him to the right of the army, by the river road, would necessitate a march of ten miles. It is not likely that Grant would order him to march ten miles, when he could reach the key of the battle in five miles.

Impartial history bears this out. The *Compte de Paris*, in his history, says: "Wallace, apprised of the situation by his commander, has been under arms since morning. The instructions of Grant, however, who feared an attack on that side, have detained him until 11:30 at Crump's Landing. At last he is ordered to cross Snake Creek to take position on the right of the Federal line, and his soldiers march forward with alacrity, stimulated by the sound of the cannon, which increases as they advance. But Grant's dispatch did not indicate the road he was to follow, nor did it inform him that the Federal line having been repulsed, he had to look for it near the mouth of Snake Creek. He, therefore, followed the road leading to Shiloh church." General Force, in his volume, "From Fort Henry to Corinth," says: "Captain Baxter wrote and gave him [Wallace] the order to march to the Purdy road, and form there on Sherman's right." Better than all this is General Grant himself. In his *Memoirs* he says: "Between the two points a bridge had been built across Snake Creek [Owl] by our troops at which Wallace's command had assisted, expressly to enable the troops at the

two places to support each other in case of need." That bridge was not on the river road, but on the road that had been repaired by Wallace to Shiloh church, and only half a mile away, and the head of his column had reached that bridge when he received word that Sherman had been driven back, and that he must take the other road. It was about two hours after the order was issued that Sherman was driven back, and finally rested with his right on Snake Creek, near the river road.

In 1868 General Grant again bore witness in favor of Wallace. About that time an assault had been made on the military record of Wallace, by some newspapers, and he submitted to Grant the statements of his staff officers and his brigade commanders. In reply General Grant said: "I can only state that my orders to you were given verbally to a staff officer to communicate, and that they were substantially as given by General Badeau in his book. I always understood that the staff officer, Captain Baxter, made a memorandum of the order he received, and left it with you, That memorandum I never saw. The statements which I now return to you, seem to exonerate you from the great point of blame, your taking the wrong road, or a different road from the one directed." General Grant further said: "All your subsequent military career showed you active and ready in the execution of every order received."

No apology is offered to the reader for the space given to this question, for it involves the military record of one of Indiana's most distinguished sons. There is no intent to impugn the honesty of General Grant in his memoirs, or his desire to be perfectly fair and impartial, but the probability is, that when he was writing his memoirs, the old stories of his staff officers, were in his mind, and the statements of

Badeau were before his eyes, and he had forgotten the evidence that had been submitted to him on the other side. General Grant's foot note of explanation does not harmonize with his text, or with history. In his text he says that he arrived at the front at 8 o'clock in the morning, and issued the order to Wallace, leaving it to be inferred that the order was issued about that hour of the morning. General Sherman says it was issued before 10. General Grant says it was delivered about 11. In his note he says it was issued after the troops had fallen back. They did not fall back until after 11 o'clock, which was after the time he says the order was delivered. It is thus seen that General Grant is somewhat confused about the whole transaction. It certainly was not delivered until after 11 o'clock, but from the distance the staff officer had to go, and the means of conveyance, it necessarily must have been issued at least two hours before. That is, it was issued about two hours before the troops fell back to the bridge across Snake creek.

This victory of Shiloh sent a thrill of joy throughout the Union, and greatly disheartened the enemy. But now dark days were to come again. General Halleck assumed command of Grant's victorious army, and sat down to a slow siege of Corinth, while General McClellan, in command of the army of the Potomac, was to begin his famous and most unfortunate Peninsula campaign. The army of the Potomac was the largest and best appointed army that had ever been collected on American soil, and in courage, endurance and discipline it ranked with any army in the world. It was well officered. All its corps commanders, and nearly all in command of divisions, and even brigades, had received a military education. It started out with banners flying, and with high hopes. From some cause it was fated from the begin-

ning. Its movements were slow, and it soon found itself encompassed by swamps, with the men dying by thousands, and notwithstanding the most splendid courage shown during seven days of bloody battle, it was forced to seek shelter under the banks of the James River, and the guns of the navy. In all the marches on the Peninsula, and in all the battles, Indiana troops exhibited the courage and patriotism shown by their brethren in the West. Then followed a change of commanders. Halleck was made Commander-in-Chief, and General Pope, of the Army of the Potomac.

Hope was once more buoyant. Pope had been successful in the West, and Halleck was looked upon as the great soldier of the war. How bitterly those hopes were disappointed the story of the second battle of Bull Run tells. Pope was defeated in a number of engagements and his army almost destroyed. McClellan was again called to the command, and finally the Confederates were forced to leave Maryland, which they had invaded. McClellan fought the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, the latter being especially bloody. Antietam can hardly be called a victory for either side, but the best results remained with McClellan. To add to all this gloom for the friends of the Union, one of the Western armies, that under the command of General Don Carlos Buell, which was quartered around Nashville, Tennessee, found its flank turned by the Confederates, and a race began for the Ohio River. The Confederates invaded Kentucky at two points, one of its armies headed toward Cincinnati, Ohio, and the other toward Louisville, Kentucky, and the worst of it was, the Government had no sufficient force at hand to stop the march of either army. It was at that crisis of the affairs of the Union, that Indiana displayed her loftiest energy and patriotism. If the Con-

federates were successful in Kentucky, Indiana would be at their mercy. The best way to defend Indiana was to fight the battle to a finish in Kentucky.

Prior to this invasion of Kentucky, a small force, claiming to be Confederate soldiers, had made a raid into Indiana. It has since been determined that the raiders were not actually Confederate soldiers, but were a gang of outlaws and thieves, united together for plunder. They were under the command of one Adam R. Johnson, and numbered about thirty men. On the eighteenth day of July, 1862, about noon, this band seized a ferryboat that was used for crossing the Ohio River at Newburg, Warrick County, and hastily crossed the river to that town. There was no military force at that time in Newburg, but a temporary hospital had been established there, and was at the time occupied by seventy-five or eighty sick soldiers. In the hospital building were stored some of the arms belonging to the Indiana legion, while more arms were stored in a building near by. On landing the raiders made a dash for the hospital building and captured the sick and wounded, and at once paroled them in the name of the Confederate States. The arms and ammunition were seized, and many of the houses and stores plundered. The raiders conducted themselves like robbers and not like soldiers. After securing all the plunder they could carry off the raiders returned to the Kentucky shore. It became evident that they had been instigated to make the raid by some of the citizens of the town, and after their departure two of the citizens, who had been seen in consultation with them, H. H. Carney and Elliott Melford, were attacked and killed by the indignant citizens.

At the time of the Newburg raid General John Morgan, one of the most celebrated of the Confederate partisan lead-

ers in the West, was raiding Kentucky, as it was afterward demonstrated, for the purpose of clearing the way for the invasion by Generals Bragg and Kirby Smith. At that time there were no troops in Indiana, except the Legion, which was very poorly armed, but Governor Morton determined to pursue the raiders and punish them. He at once called for volunteers, and almost immediately several companies were offered him. Colonel James Gavin, of the Seventh Indiana, and Colonel John T. Wilder, of the Seventeenth Indiana, both of Decatur County, were at home on leave of absence from the front, and they offered six hundred men. The call of Governor Morton was issued on the 19th, and on the evening of the 20th Colonels Gavin and Wilder were at Evansville. In passing through Indianapolis they stopped long enough to have their men mustered into the United States service, for thirty days. Companies were also offered from Terre Haute and Lafayette. General Love, who was in command of the Legion, also hastened to Evansville, as did Governor Morton. The ten companies were organized into the Seventy-sixth Regiment Indiana Volunteers. They were at once sent to Henderson, Kentucky, with orders to clear that section of all armed enemies. They were ordered to "Drive out the rebel bands in Henderson, Davis, Webster and Union Counties, shooting down all guerrillas in arms, and all making resistance." The Governor closed his orders as follows: "They must be shot; nothing else will do; I do not want such prisoners." The troops were very active, and within a few days had chased the guerrillas out of Kentucky.

At this time Kentucky was calling loudly for help, and Governor Morton promptly responded, sending to Frankfort what few troops there were in the State, and several car-



loads of ammunition. Several companies of the Legion were mustered into the United States service, and assigned to the duty of guarding the Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton, thus relieving the seasoned troops at that point, for service at the front. Rumors were rife of the contemplated invasion of Kentucky, and the commanding officer in that State, backed by the Secretary of War, called loudly upon Indiana for assistance. Once more Governor Morton appealed to the people, and once again they answered by hastening to the various camps, and offering their services.

The President had issued another call for troops, and Indiana's quota was fixed at twenty-one thousand. Of these Governor Morton soon had twenty thousand in camp, impatiently awaiting the mustering officer and their arms. Early in August it became certain that Kentucky was to be invaded by two strong forces of Confederates, and the commanding General in that State, earnestly backed by the Secretary of War, made appeal after appeal to Governor Morton to hasten forward the troops. To expedite the enlistment of volunteers the Government had offered bounty and advanced pay, but had sent to Indiana no money to meet those demands. The forwarding of troops could no longer be delayed, and Governor Morton made a personal appeal to the Seventy-first, which was ready for the front, to go without waiting for this money, giving them his promise that he would see that it was paid to them at the earliest possible moment. There was no hesitation on the part of the patriotic members of this regiment, and on the 18th day of August the regiment left for Louisville. The men were afterward paid on the battle field of Richmond, about half an hour before the opening of the battle. Governor Morton saw the necessity of promptly meeting the promises of the

Government in regard to the advance pay and bounty, and he at once effected an arrangement with citizens and bankers of Indianapolis and Cincinnati, whereby he obtained nearly half a million dollars for this purpose. The work of sending forward troops was then rapidly pushed. On the 19th, four regiments were mustered, paid and started for Kentucky. The next day three more regiments were sent to the front. Regiments, and batteries, were rapidly filled and forwarded. At the Indiana Arsenal about seven hundred hands were employed in the manufacture of ammunition, turning out about 300,000 rounds daily.

A Confederate force, under General Kirby Smith, was pointed toward Cincinnati, and another, under General Bragg was headed for Louisville. On the 29th and 30th of August, several of the Indiana regiments, that had so hastily been sent to the front, met the forces of Kirby Smith at Richmond, Kentucky, and a very disastrous battle was fought; but its loss caused no reflection on the troops engaged. The bravery displayed was worthy of victory. Cincinnati being thus threatened, called for help, as did Louisville, Kentucky. Within fifteen hours after the call was received from Cincinnati, two regiments of infantry, twenty-four pieces of artillery, 3,000 stand of arms, 31,000 rounds of artillery ammunition and 3,365,000 musket cartridges were delivered at Cincinnati. Governor Morton, accompanied by his military staff and several Indiana officers, who happened to be in the State, also went to that point. General Lew Wallace was assigned to the command of the defenses around Cincinnati. The battle of Richmond had delayed the advance of Kirby Smith to such an extent that the Kentucky shore, opposite Cincinnati, was amply fortified before he made his appearance, and the invasion ended at that point.

Several Indiana regiments had been placed in the fortifications at Munfordsville, Kentucky, on the line between the marching troops of General Bragg, and Louisville, his objective point. The Union troops knew their duty, and while they knew they could not long withstand the overwhelming force that was opposed to them, they knew that every moment they delayed that force was of the utmost value to the safety of Louisville, and they determined to fight. For three days they held out. Had General Bragg left but a small part of the force at his command, to continue the siege of Munfordsville, and marched rapidly to Louisville, the prize for which he was struggling would have been in his grasp, but he delayed, and when the surrender of the Indiana troops was at last forced, Louisville had slipped from him, and his whole movement ended in failure.

Thus it was, that a few raw troops from Indiana, hurried forward by the tireless energy of the Governor, on the battle field of Richmond, held at bay the strong Confederate force of Kirby Smith, giving time to cover the Kentucky hills opposite Cincinnati with fortifications, and to place in the fortifications guns and men to make the Queen City of the West secure; and a few thousand Indiana soldiers, by sacrificing themselves at Munfordsville, performed a like service for Louisville, and their own State. So well was the great work of Governor Morton, in hastening troops and ammunition for the defense of Cincinnati, recognized by the people there, that the City Council ordered a life-size portrait of him painted and placed in the Council Chamber. Both Bragg and Kirby Smith were compelled to retreat. They were followed by General Buell, and finally a battle was fought at Perryville, on October 8, between two corps of General Buell's army and the forces under Bragg. At the time of the


battle the result was hailed in the North as a Union victory, while, in fact, it was much more in the nature of a drawn battle, the Union troops holding the battle field, and the Confederates pursuing their retreat without further molestation. The battle gave rise to much criticism of General Buell, and he was relieved of his command, General Rosecrans succeeding him. While these operations were going on in Kentucky, and in the East, General Grant was winning laurels on another field. When Halleck was called to Washington as Commander-in-Chief, Grant was left in command of the department. He wanted to fight and soon mapped out a plan of campaign, but his troops were taken from him, first to reinforce this commander, and then to strengthen another. It mattered little how weak his force might be, if he found an opportunity to strike a blow, he did so. He had under him, at that time, Rosecrans, Ord, Sherman, and other gallant officers.

The Confederate Generals Price and Van Dorn endeavored to get into Tennessee to reinforce Bragg. What troops General Grant had were scattered greatly, guarding railroads and holding supply depots, but on learning of the movements of Price and Van Dorn, he hastily concentrated his forces preparatory to meeting the Confederates at either Corinth or Iuka. On the 19th of September, Rosecrans met the Confederates, and quite a battle took place, near Iuka, the Federals getting the worst of it. The next morning, however, Rosecrans renewed the fight, and soon forced the enemy to a rapid retreat. After this repulse, the Confederates renewed their designs upon Corinth, and on the 4th of October attacked the Federals at that point with great fury, but after a sanguinary engagement they were repulsed. While on the retreat General Ord, who was hastening to the

help of Rosecrans, struck the Confederates in flank, and punished them severely. These were two rifts in the cloud of disaster that had been following the Union cause for some months, and caused great rejoicing, in the North, and brought Rosecrans so favorably to the notice of the Government that he was selected to replace Buell, in Tennessee, a few weeks later. In the battle at Corinth General Pleasant A. Hackleman, of Indiana, was killed. General Hackleman was the only General officer from Indiana killed during the war.

As the year 1862 was drawing to a close, the situation had improved somewhat for the Union cause. Lee had been driven from Maryland, but had been permitted to withdraw, almost without molestation, after the battle of Antietam. Bragg had been driven from Kentucky, but was strong and defiant. Rosecrans had concentrated his forces not far from Nashville. In both the East and the West it looked as if a long season of inaction was to follow. The elections throughout the North had been unfavorable to the party in power, and it was felt something must be done. Grant appeared to be the only one who was anxious to fight. He was constantly beseeching the authorities at Washington for permission to make an aggressive movement. Finally, on the 12th of October, Halleck wired him that he was at liberty to fight, whenever and wherever he wanted to. The next day his army was on the move, and drove the Confederates from Holly Springs, and he at once began an active campaign.

General Burnside had replaced McClellan in command of the army of the Potomac, and was preparing for the battle which followed at Fredericksburg. That terrible disaster occurred on the 13th of December. Blundering and



mismanagement thwarted the bravest efforts of that devoted army, and it assaulted the Confederate works only to be beaten back with a slaughter that was appalling. Indiana only had four regiments engaged in that battle, but their dead were found nearer the enemy's works than those of any other of the Federal troops. The year was not to close without one more desperate struggle, in which thousands were to be offered up to the demon war. The two main armies in the West had been gradually drawing nearer each other, and on the evening of the 30th of December, confronted each other, with only Stone River separating them. Both commanders prepared for the struggle of the next day. Each designed to assume the offensive, but Bragg was a little quicker than Rosecrans, and at early dawn assaulted the Union lines with great strength and fury. His first assault met with success, and a portion of the Union troops were doubled back on the others, but Davis and Sheridan resisted with such tenacity that the contest took a more equal shape. The Confederates were too strong, however, and first one division and then another was driven from position, and the hopes of the Confederates grew almost to certainty, as they saw hundreds of prisoners sent to the rear, battery after battery captured, and position after position taken. But Thomas was there, in command of the center. Under him, on that day fought fifteen Indiana regiments. When the Confederates struck his force their onward march was stayed. Night came and Bragg had failed of his purpose.

The next day was one of activity, but neither side was willing to take the offensive. Engagements occurred between detached portions of the army, but none that proved decisive. On the second day of the new year the Confeder-

ate commander determined once more to make an issue of battle. His plans were laid with skill, and at one time promised to bring full fruition. It was on that last day of battle that the metal of which Indiana troops were made was fully displayed. Just before the close of the fighting on the first day, General Wagner, of Indiana, saw that another assault was coming from the enemy, but did not wait for it. He ordered the fifteenth and fifty-seventh Indiana regiments to charge. The charge was so gallantly made that the enemy's infantry was dashed back, until they were aided by a heavy fire of artillery. The fifteenth Indiana, in this charge, captured all the men of a Confederate regiment who had not been killed. On the afternoon of the 2d of January, just as the Confederates, under General Breckenridge, were making a desperate assault on the Union lines, Colonel John F. Miller, of Indiana, charged across the river with his brigade. He was ordered by a General officer to stop, but he refused to obey, and dashed across the river and fell with such fury on the foe that the enemy was broken to pieces. In this charge Miller drew other troops after him, seized with the contagion that daring examples always create. He captured a battery of four guns. Van Horn, in his *History of the Army of the Cumberland*, thus speaks of this charge of Colonel Miller:

"Colonel Miller's movement had great prominence in utterly defeating General Bragg's object in this engagement, which was to secure the heights commanding his lines across the river. General Rosecrans, being as yet on the defensive, had no thought of aggression from any point of his line, and hence it is not improbable that, had not Miller moved promptly to charge Breckenridge's forces, and had he not followed them in rapid pursuit, they might have re-

formed upon their objective, and held it. As it was, Miller drew after him such a combination as prevented Breckenridge from holding the coveted heights, who, having been carried beyond the hills, by his success at first, lost them altogether, his failure costing, in the various forms of casualty, an aggregate of two thousand men."

Now, let us return to the situation in the State. At the election in 1862 the Union party had been overthrown, and the opposition had succeeded in getting possession of all the State offices, with the exception of that of Governor. At the same time they obtained control of the Legislature in both branches. For a complete understanding of the work of Indiana during the war, it is necessary to briefly dwell upon the acts of the Indiana Legislature in 1863. During the period of despondency and gloom which had followed the failure of McClellan on the Peninsula, Pope, in Virginia, and Buell, in Kentucky and Tennessee, there had been growing up in the North a conviction that the seceding States could never be forced back into the Union, or if they were so forced back, it would require the presence of a large standing army to keep them there, and such an idea was obnoxious to a great many of the people. The relations of Indiana with the South had always been more intimate than those with the East, and the question of a third Confederacy began to be agitated, to be known as that of the Northwest, and it was openly advocated by some of the public speakers. The advocates of this measure were in favor of recognizing the independency of the South, and then of making a commercial, if not a political union, between the seceding States and those of the Northwest. This idea was pretty strongly imbedded in the minds of many members of the Indiana Legislature. Great opposition had been aroused by certain ar-



bitrary arrests which had been made, and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. All these things tended to heighten the bitterness of party feeling, and several attempts were made to enact laws crippling the power of the Governor. Resolutions denunciatory of the further continuance of the war were also adopted. So strong was the feeling, that the Legislature refused to receive the message of Governor Morton, or permit it to be read, and an effort was made to adopt in its place that of the Governor of New York. Finally, to defeat the passage of a bill to deprive the Governor of any control over the militia of the State, the Republican members of the House left Indianapolis in a body, and went to Madison, where they remained until the close of the term, by constitutional limitation.

By this action, the passage of the necessary appropriation bills was prevented, and the State was left without the means of maintaining its civil authority. It was a great crisis, and it looked as if the State was about to enter upon a period of anarchy. At that time the State had a large debt, for the prompt payment of the interest on which, its faith and honor stood pledged. It was held by the Governor, that no special appropriation by the Legislature was needed to authorize the payment of this interest, but the Auditor and Treasurer held otherwise, so that there was danger that the honor of the State would be compromised. To meet all these difficulties Governor Morton determined on a course that was not in strict line with the constitution, and to look to a future Legislature to sustain him, and meet the obligations. Through the banking house of Winslow, Lanier & Co., of New York, he arranged for the prompt payment of the interest on the State debt, and then from County authorities, private citizens and banks, he borrowed money

to maintain the State Government, giving them his pledge that it would be repaid. He also got from the General Government several hundred thousand dollars, for the same purpose. All his acts were afterward ratified by the Legislature, and the money borrowed was repaid.

To carry on the State Government, he organized a Financial Bureau, through which the money borrowed was disbursed, without regard to the State officers. At this time the coffers of the State were full, and money continued to be raised by taxation. It was this money that was afterward used to reimburse those who had made advancements to the Governor. The actions of the Governor were not in strict conformity with the letter of the constitution, but they did harmonize with its spirit. He took his stand upon the broad principle that the safety and perpetuity of the Commonwealth, might demand and justify extraordinary measures in times of great danger, when to hesitate to adopt such measures would result in ruin.

The year 1862 had opened out very hopefully, with the victory at Mill Springs, and at Shiloh, and the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, but it closed in disaster, the last and crowning disaster of the year having been that at Fredericksburg, Virginia, on December 13, when General Burnside made an attempt to storm the heights of Fredericksburg, and was driven back with a loss of 14,000 killed and wounded. The last day of the year, saw the opening of the battle of Stone River, which ended, two days later, in favor of the Union forces. In every great battle of the year, and in many of the minor engagements, Indiana troops took a prominent part, and in every instance behaved gallantly and well.

Soon after the beginning of the War, the Indiana State

authorities had organized several regiments for the defense of the border, and placed them under command of competent officers. Twice during the year, 1863, they were called into active service. On the 17th of June, 1863, a small force of Confederate cavalry, under the command of Captain Thomas H. Hines, crossed the Ohio River from Kentucky, landing about eight miles above Cannelton. The expedition could have but one object, that of plunder, for it was too small in numbers for any other purpose. Captain Hines only intended to remain on Indiana soil two or three days, and made an arrangement with the parties who had ferried him across the Ohio River, to meet him at an appointed time and place to re-convey him to Kentucky. He then started out on his little tour after plunder, playing a very shrewd game to avoid suspicion, and thereby escape with impunity, when he had gathered all he could. He claimed to be an officer of the Union army and acting under the orders of General Boyd, commanding in Kentucky, and was out searching after deserters. From loyal citizens he secured a number of good horses, in exchange for those of his troop that had been broken down by marching. In payment for the horses he gave vouchers on the Federal Quartermaster at Indianapolis. The next day the suspicions of the people were aroused, and pursuit was organized, and the alarm sent ahead of him. The raid was magnified a thousand fold, almost, and the Legion was ordered under arms, and preparations were made even at Indianapolis for his anticipated reaching that city.

He did reach Orange County, but there discovered that arrangements for his reception had been made a few miles further on, and he turned west, hoping to make the Ohio River at another point. At one point he met a small force

of armed citizens, and captured them, after killing one. By this time the whole southern part of the State was aroused, and the militia rapidly assembling. The raiders soon discovered the perils which were environing them, and endeavored to make a rapid retreat. They were in want of a guide to pilot them through the hills along the Ohio. They found one, in a Mr. Bryant Breedon, whom they had been led to believe sympathized with their cause, but who, in fact, was a strong Union man. By the morning of the third day the State troops were closing in on the raiders, and a race for the river began. The Confederates reached the river at the point agreed upon with the ferryman for crossing, but they had been forced there one day sooner than the time agreed upon, so no boats were found.

It was now that the "guide" came into play. He persuaded the Confederate commander to attempt a crossing at Blue Island, about three miles above Leavenworth. The water on the Indiana side of the Island was readily fordable, but between the island and the Kentucky shore it was very deep. They got to the island, and were there hemmed in by the rapidly pursuing militia, and the steamer *Isetta*, which had been sent up the river to intercept their crossing. All the raiders, with the exception of Captain Hines and two or three others, with all the property stolen, were captured. Thus ended the second raid of the Confederates on Indiana soil.

The third and last raid, and by far the most important, was made a few weeks later. Gen. John Morgan was one of the most daring of the cavalry leaders, on the Southern side, during the war, and by his dashing raids on the Federal lines of communication proved a great trouble to the Union commanders in Kentucky and Tennessee. In July,

1863, he projected a raid on a far more extensive scale than any he had hitherto attempted. His design was to raid not only Kentucky, but Indiana and Ohio.

On the afternoon of the 7th of July the advance of his forces reached Brandenburg, on the Kentucky side of the river, and was fortunate enough, soon after, to capture two steamboats, thus giving him easy ferriage. The alarm, however, had spread to Indiana, and a company or two of the Legion, with one gun, arrived at a point opposite Brandenburg, before the crossing began on the morning of the 8th. The officer in command posted his gun, and opened on the steamer just as the first of the Confederate troops began embarking. The shot struck fair and square, and the Confederates hastily left the steamer, and took to the woods, until they could get some of their own guns in position. When that was done it did not take long to drive the Union companies from their position, and the embarkation proceeded. In this engagement one officer of the Legion and one citizen were killed. Two of the Confederate regiments were hastily put on one of the steamers and sent across. On reaching the Indiana side they charged at once on the Union troops, scattering them and capturing the gun. A constant skirmish was kept up, however, by the rapidly gathering militia. Before Morgan could cross the rest of his troops a small gunboat put in an appearance, and prevented every attempt to cross. Had the gunboat retained its position the raid would have ended then and there in a disaster to the Confederates, for the State troops were gathering in such force, that in a very few hours they could have overwhelmed the two regiments already in Indiana, especially as they were without horses, their horses having been left on the Kentucky side. But from some unexplained cause

the gunboat, after keeping up a fire for about an hour, steamed back up the river. She returned later in the evening, but by that time Morgan and his whole force were in Indiana.

Morgan at once began his raid through the State. He had about 2,500 men and six pieces of artillery. The Confederates soon began a wanton destruction of property, burning much they could not carry off. About four miles from Corydon, in Harrison County, they wantonly murdered, in cold blood, Rev. Peter Glenn, whom they had induced by a flag of truce to come out of his house. It was the day for alarms, and soon the most exaggerated rumors were flying over the State, some of them placing the number of the Confederates as high as 20,000, and Indianapolis as their destination. It will be proper, for the purpose of showing Indiana's condition at the time of the raid, to state that when Morgan entered Kentucky, the commanding officers in that State at once began calling on Indiana for troops, and Governor Morton, with the zeal he always displayed, had sent to the aid of Kentucky every trained soldier in the State, with the exception of two companies, and a few hundred recently exchanged prisoners. The Legion numbered, on paper, several thousand men, but they were mostly unarmed, and none of them mounted. Morgan, on the other hand, was well mounted when he entered the State, and by taking all the horses on his route was able to keep well mounted.

Great confusion existed in Kentucky. One day General Boyd, the Union commander in that State, would telegraph Governor Morton asking him to send all the Indiana Legion possible to the defense of Louisville, and the next would telegraph that he had no positive knowledge of the where-

abouts of Morgan, but was perfectly confident that the force then pursuing him would be able to effect his destruction. Governor Morton made what effort he could to be prepared for an invasion, and when he received word that the Confederates were actually in the State, every energy was put forth, and additional volunteers were called for. Never before, in the history of any State in the Union, was such energy shown, or such volunteering done. Within twenty-four hours after the Governor had issued his appeal, fifteen thousand volunteers were on their way to Indianapolis, and within two days 20,000 volunteers had reported at the capital and been mustered into the service, and 45,000 more were organized and ready to come. Several distinguished officers, who were in the State, offered their services and Brigadier Generals and Major Generals went out in command of companies. Illinois sent three companies, and General Schofield, in command at St. Louis, sent a regiment and a battery.

At New Albany and Jeffersonville the Government had depots containing about \$4,000,000 worth of stores, and it was at first thought Morgan would aim for those two points, for the purpose of destroying the supplies. He also had the opportunity to materially cripple the two railroads by which the Government was sending reinforcements and supplies to General Rosecrans. At Indianapolis immense quantities of military stores had been gathered, and several thousand Confederate prisoners were quartered there. It was natural to suppose that Morgan would make some effort to reach Indianapolis, release the Confederate prisoners, and add them to his force, equipping them from the arms in the arsenal. He soon found a force was gathering, at New Albany and Jeffersonville, that would make any move in that

direction dangerous, and he contented himself with starting on a mere raid through the State, with no definite object in view. As soon as it had been made known that he was raiding Kentucky, two brigades of cavalry had been started in pursuit, but he having the opportunity to supply his command with fresh horses, the pursuers had not been able to overtake him. Governor Morton, and his military advisers, concluded that to delay him as much as possible would give the pursuers a chance to come up with and capture him, so the forces at the command of the State authorities were disposed at available points, for that purpose. Orders were sent to officers along the Ohio River, to be prepared to destroy all boats if necessary, to prevent him from crossing again into Kentucky, it being determined to destroy him while on this side of the river.

Morgan had not been in the State more than forty-eight hours, when he saw that in flight was his only safety. He learned that the river was amply guarded and patrolled by gunboats, and that the militia were gathering by thousands on his flanks. It was true that the militia, being raw troops, could not be expected to cope with his veterans, but they could cut off supplies, annoy his flanks, and prevent the possibility of reinforcements reaching him. On the morning of the 9th he made an advance movement, but about one mile from Corydon struck a small force of the militia posted across the road. A spirited engagement followed, in which he suffered some loss, but finally the militia were forced to retreat, and at Corydon they were completely surrounded and compelled to surrender, but all this caused a delay that he could ill-afford to make. The prisoners were immediately paroled. Our loss was four killed and several wounded. The Confederates lost eight killed



and thirty-one wounded. The stores in Corydon were looted of their contents, and the County treasury robbed of a small sum of money. Three flouring mills were ransomed from the torch on the payment of \$2,100. Five hundred horses were secured from the citizens of the County. He left Corydon that afternoon, and sent a part of his forces to Paoli, in Orange County, and a part to Greenville, in Floyd, while with the main body he went to Palmyra. All three detachments, after securing all the horses possible, and plundering all the farm houses on their route, converged toward Salem, in Washington County, which they reached about 10 o'clock the next morning.

At that point they captured a company of unarmed militia, that had just arrived to receive their arms. They burned the railroad depot and a large railroad bridge, and destroyed the track for some distance. As at Corydon, and other places, the stores and residences were plundered, and the flouring mills forced to pay a ransom. Morgan became more convinced than ever that he must hasten in his flight, if he would escape final capture, so he rapidly left Salem, making a dash for Lexington, Scott County. He was then once more headed for the Ohio river, but again found himself foiled. He pursued his flight eastward, and on the 11th reached the vicinity of Vernon, but there he found a body of troops determined to resist. He sent a summons to them to surrender, which was refused, and he refrained from making any attack. He had become satisfied that every delay was fraught with extreme danger to his command. He encamped that night at Dupont, after destroying two railroad bridges and other property. By this time his men were beginning to straggle, and that night a small force, of about

twenty mounted militia, captured thirty of them. Before daylight on the morning of the 12th, Morgan left Dupont, and at Versailles, in Ripley County, captured about 350 militia, and robbed the County treasurer of \$5,000 of the public money.

On the 13th Morgan reached Sunman Station, but found about 2,500 militia awaiting him. He did not linger, but turned again eastward. The Indiana troops pursued him into the State of Ohio, where, after a continued flight for several days, he was finally captured, with all of his command. On the 13th, after Morgan had left the State, a most deplorable occurrence took place at or near Lawrenceburg. Colonel Gavin, who was in command, at that point, had received information that Morgan had turned back into Indiana again, and was advancing in that direction. He began placing his troops at the best points for resistance, when by a mistake one column fired into another, and five men were killed, and nineteen wounded, one of whom afterward died.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the raid, Governor Morton set about the work of relieving those whose property had been taken, either by the Confederates or by the Union officers in the pursuit. He met many obstacles in the way, but continued to press the matter on Congress, on the War Department, and the State Legislature. Nothing was done, however, until 1867, when, acting under a resolution of the General Assembly, a commission was appointed to audit and adjust all claims for property taken or destroyed, during the raid. Claims amounting to \$497,399.21 were presented, but not all were allowed. The Commissioners, after several months spent in taking testimony, allowed claims as follows:

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Harrison County.....	\$81,710.90
Floyd " .....	11,188.71
Washington " .....	85,613.33
Scott " .....	42,031.43
Jefferson " .....	47,388.31
Jennings " .....	59,187.66
Jackson " .....	792.50
Ripley " .....	40,609.25
Dearborn " .....	43,415.42
Marion " .....	1,661.97
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$413,599.48

These claims were finally adjusted by the State, the General Government, after years of haggling, reimbursing the State for a part of them.

This was the last raid made into Indiana by armed enemies, but at least two others deserve some mention in a history of Indiana, as they demonstrate the activity of the loyal people of the State in rendering assistance to Kentucky. In 1864 the Union forces were drawing the cordon closer each week around the struggling Confederacy. Grant was holding Lee and his army, in a vise-like grip, around Richmond. Sherman was slowly flanking and fighting his way to Atlanta. It was the death struggle of the Confederacy. General Morgan had made his escape from the Ohio penitentiary, where he had been confined, and was again in Kentucky, at the head of a formidable body of troops. Morgan always chose an opportune time for his raids. He managed to make them just after the harvests in Kentucky, when he could sweep off to the South much needed supplies, and just when the harvests in Ohio and Indiana were about to begin, so that to call out the militia, which was largely

composed of farmers, would interfere with harvesting the crops, and thereby prove of great damage to the people of these States.

In May, 1864, he planned for an extensive raid through Kentucky, one object being to get a new mount of horses, and the other to destroy the railroad bridges, on which the Government relied to supply Sherman's army. At Munfordsville there was a long bridge across Green River. If it could be destroyed it was estimated it would require three months to rebuild it, and for that length of time Sherman would be badly crippled. About the last of May he started on his raid, and once more Kentucky was thrown into a fever of doubt, alarm and uncertainty. Immediately a deluge of dispatches commenced on Governor Morton, appealing for help. On receipt of the first dispatch Governor Morton telegraphed: "One regiment leaves to-night; one to-morrow, and two others on Wednesday." At the same time he asked for full information, as he did not want to call out the militia on a mistake. The only information vouchsafed him was renewed and despairing appeals for troops. On June 8 an urgent call for five thousand troops was made upon him, accompanied by the assurance that Louisville, and the Nashville railroad were almost defenseless. On this he called out the militia, and sent them to the border, ready to move in any direction where needed. On the 9th another call came, and with it a statement that all the troops in Kentucky were with General Burbridge in the mountains. Governor Morton might well have asked, what they were doing there, instead of being in front of the invading force, but he hurried more troops to Louisville. On their arrival, it was found that up to that date Louisville had taken no steps for defense, seemingly relying upon Indiana to come to its rescue.

On the 10th of June the forty-third Indiana volunteers reached the State on veteran furlough. The gallant regiment at once tendered their services in this crisis, foregoing their furlough. They were at once dispatched to Louisville. On the 9th Morgan had been met at Mount Sterling, by a force of Union troops, and badly defeated, his brigade of dismounted men being wholly scattered or captured. This interfered with his plans. He entered Lexington and plundered the city, obtaining enough horses to mount all his men. From there he sent out several detachments, in different directions, to destroy railroads, and other property. At Lexington he destroyed a large amount of stores belonging to the Federal Government. At Georgetown he captured the garrison of four hundred men, and destroyed a large quantity of Government stores. While he was engaged in this work of destruction, General Hobson, with twelve hundred men arrived, and at once made an attack, but Morgan succeeded in surrounding him and forcing a surrender. On the 12th he was attacked by another Federal force, and his raiding party almost entirely destroyed. Morgan escaped, himself, into Virginia.

In July, Colonel Johnson, who had commanded on the "Newburg" raid, collected quite a force in Kentucky for the purpose of making another descent on Indiana. Information of it reached the authorities, and General Hovey, who happened at the time to be at his home in Mount Vernon, offered to lead a body of troops and destroy the Confederates, before they could be prepared to move. With about 750 infantry and cavalry he crossed the river, and drove the enemy from their camps, thus saving another raid.

After this digression it is time to return to the general movements of the war.

The year 1863 had not opened out very brightly for the Union cause. Mr. Lincoln had issued his emancipation proclamation; the elections had gone against the war party, and the terrible disasters which had fallen upon the Union armies had disheartened the people, and very materially strengthened the peace party. Grant was fretting in Northern Mississippi, wanting to move, but held back by the dilatory tactics which prevailed at Washington. Rosecrans, with the army of General Buell, was in Tennessee, and Hooker, who had displaced Burnside, was on the Rappahannock. Raiding parties were sent out here and there, and for the first months of the year, engagements were confined to defending communications. The calls for troops continued, and the draft had to be resorted to, in some of the States. The friends of the South were busy in organizing secret societies in the North, and all in all the outlook was of the gloomiest character. Grant had moved out to Vicksburg, and for many weeks delved around the fortifications at that point, trying to evolve some plan by which that stronghold could be taken. This expedition was the direct result of an earnest statement of the situation by Governor Morton. In a communication to the President he pointed out the movement on foot to establish a Northwestern Confederacy, and that the movement would assume active shape, unless the Government destroyed the fortifications on the Mississippi River, and obtained control of that great highway to the sea. He also pointed out that possession of the Mississippi River would practically cut the Confederacy in two. The letter to the President was so practical, so full of sound military and statesmanlike suggestions, that it is worthy of permanent record. It stamped Governor Morton at once as being possessed of a more than ordinary military mind. It was dated October 27, 1862, and was as follows:

*To the President of the United States:*

"Dear Sir:—The importance of the subject of this letter, and the deep interest I feel in it, must be my excuse for intruding it upon you.

"The fate of the Northwest is trembling in the balance. The result of the late election admonishes all who understand its import, that not an hour is to be lost. The Democratic politicians of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, assume that the rebellion will not be crushed, and that the independence of the rebel confederacy will before many months be practically or expressly acknowledged. Starting upon this hypothesis, they ask the question: What shall be the destiny of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois? Shall they remain attached to the old Government, or shall they secede and form a new one—a Northwestern Confederacy, as a preparatory step to their annexation to the Government of the South? This latter project is the programme, and has been for the last twelve months. During the recent campaign it was the staple of every Democratic speech, that we had no interest or sympathies in common with the people of the Northern and Eastern States; that New England is fattening at our expense; that the people of New England are cold, selfish, money making, and, through the medium of tariffs and railroads, oppressing us to the dust; that geographically these States are a part of the Mississippi Valley, and, in their political associations and destiny, cannot be separated from the other States of that valley; that socially and commercially their sympathies and interests are with those of the people of the Southern States, rather than with the people of the North and East; that the Mississippi River is the great artery and outlet of all western commerce; that the people of the Northwest can never consent to be separated politi-

cally from the people who control the mouth of that river; that this war had been forced upon the South for the purpose of abolishing slavery, and that the South has offered reasonable and proper compromises, which if they had been accepted, would have avoided the war. In some of these arguments there is much truth. Our geographical and social relations are not to be denied; but the most potent appeal is that connected with the free navigation and control of the Mississippi River. The importance of that river, to the trade and commerce of the Northwest, is so patent as to impress itself with great force upon the most ignorant minds, and requires only to be stated to be at once understood and accepted. And I give it here as my deliberate judgment that should the misfortunes of our arms, or other causes, compel us to the abandonment of this war, and the concession of the independence of the rebel States, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois can only be prevented, if at all, from a new act of secession and annexation to those States, by a bloody and desolating civil war. The South would have the prestige of success, the commerce of the world would be opened to feed and furnish her armies, and she would contend for every foot of land west of the Alleghanies, and in the struggle would be supported by a powerful party in these States.

"If the States which have already seceded should succeed in their rebellion, our efforts must then be directed to the preservation of what is left; to maintaining in the Union those States which are termed loyal, and the retention of the territories of the West. May God grant that this contingency shall never happen, but it becomes us as men to look it boldly in the face. Let us take security against it, if possible, especially when by so doing we shall be pursuing



the surest mode for crushing out the rebellion in every part, and restoring the Union to its former limits. The plan which I have to suggest, is the complete clearing out of all obstacles to the navigation of the Mississippi River, and the thorough conquest of the States on the western bank. Between the State of Missouri and the Gulf of Mexico, on the western bank are the States of Arkansas and Louisiana. Arkansas has a population of about 325,000 white citizens and 111,000 slaves, and a very large per centage of her white population are in the rebel army and serving east of the Mississippi. Of the fighting population of Western Louisiana not less than fifty per cent. are in the rebel army, and in service east of the river. The river once in our possession, and occupied by our gunboats, can never be crossed by a rebel army, and the fighting men now without those States could not get back to their relief. To make the conquest of those States thorough and complete, your proclamation should be executed in every county and every township, and upon every plantation. All this can be done in less than ninety days, with an army of less than one hundred thousand men. Texas would be entirely isolated from the rebel confederacy, and would readily fall into our hands. She has undoubtedly a large Union element in her population, and with her complete separation from the people in other rebel States, could make but feeble resistance. When this shall have been accomplished, a glance at the map will show what immense advantages will have been obtained. The remaining rebel States, separated by the river, would be cut off effectually from all the territories, and from the States of Mexico. The dangers to be apprehended from the French aggressions in Mexico would be avoided. The entire western part of the continent now belonging to the Government,

would be secured to us, and all communication between the rebel States and the States on the Pacific entirely stopped. The work of conquest in Arkansas and Louisiana would be easy and certain, and the presence of our gunboats in the river, would effectually prevent any large force from coming from the East to the relief of these States. The complete emancipation, which could and should be made, of all slaves in Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas would place the possession of those States on a very different footing from any other rebel territory, which we have heretofore overrun.

"But another result to be gained by the accomplishment of this plan, will be the creation of a guaranty against the further depreciation of the loyalty of the Northwestern States, by giving the assurance that, whatever may be the result of the war, the free navigation and control of the Mississippi River will be secured at all events."

As we have said, Hooker was on the Rappahannock, Rosecrans around Nashville, and Grant in Northern Mississippi. Everybody but Grant was calling for reinforcements. All that Grant asked was permission to move and fight in his own way. The Federal authorities felt that something must be done, or the country would go to pieces. At last Grant was permitted to try his hand on Vicksburg, in his own way. No sooner was the permission given than he began to make arrangements to cut loose from his base, and strike out on a new line. So new and novel was his plan, that when it was known at Washington, he was ordered to return, and follow one a little more in harmony with the Washington idea of war. It was too late, however, for Grant was not only in the rear of Vicksburg, but had fought one or two battles, gaining a victory at each. To make the story a little plainer: Grant had conceived the plan of run-

ning the batteries of Vicksburg with his gunboats and transports, and moving his army along the west side of the river, cross at a point below the town, and then swing around in its rear. To do this required the most rapid marching and concentration. He successfully crossed the river, and threw his army out toward Jackson. He caught the enemy at Black River and rapidly defeated him, and then placed his army between the two forces of the Confederates. Never before in the history of American war had troops marched so rapidly, or in such light order. By the 1st of May, Grant's troops were across the Mississippi River, and on that day the first of a series of brilliant and victorious battles was fought. He caught the enemy at Port Gibson. Prior to this, to cover his movement around Vicksburg, Grant had sent General Grierson on a raid to the far south, which was eminently successful. He had destroyed railroads, attracted the attention of the enemy, and carried dismay through central Mississippi.

The Confederates had discovered Grant's efforts to cross the Mississippi, and quite a large force met him a short distance from Port Gibson, in a well chosen position. Grant did not delay, but with McClernand's corps, largely composed of Indiana troops, attacked both flanks, and it was not long before he had the Confederates on a rapid retreat. From that day until the 18th a battle was fought every day, and every battle was a victory for the Union. Grant's strategy was utterly bewildering to the enemy. He seemed to be menacing all points at once, and the confused Confederates could not tell where the blow was to fall. As to his own labors, an extract or two from his Memoirs will tell the tale. He says:

"It was necessary to have transportation for ammuni-

tion. Provisions could be taken from the country; but all the ammunition that can be carried on the person, is soon exhausted when there is much fighting. I directed, therefore, immediately upon landing that all the vehicles and draft animals, whether horses, mules or oxen, in the vicinity, should be collected and loaded to their capacity with ammunition. Quite a train was collected during the 30th, and a motley train it was. In it could be found fine carriages, loaded nearly to the top with boxes of cartridges, that had been pitched in promiscuously, drawn by mules with plow harness, straw collars, rope lines, etc.; long-coupled wagons, with racks for carrying cotton bales, drawn by oxen, and everything that could be found in the way of transportation on a plantation, either for use or pleasure. The making out of provision returns was stopped for the time. No formalities were to retard our progress until a position was secured, when the time could be spared to observe them.

"On the way from the junction to Grand Gulf, where the road comes into the one from Vicksburg to the same place, six or seven miles out, I learned that the last of the enemy had retreated past that place on their way to Vicksburg. I left Logan to make the proper disposition of his troops for the night, while I rode into the town with an escort of about twenty cavalry. Admiral Porter had already arrived with his fleet. The enemy had abandoned his heavy guns and evacuated the place.

"When I reached Grand Gulf, May 3d, I had not been with my baggage since the 27th of April, and consequently had had no change of underclothing, no meal except such as I could pick up sometimes at other headquarters, and no tent to cover me. The first thing I did was to get a bath, borrow some fresh underclothing from one of the naval offi-

cers and get a good meal on the flagship. Then I wrote letters to the General-in-Chief, informing him of our present position; dispatches to be telegraphed from Cairo; orders to General Sullivan, commanding above Vicksburg, and gave orders to all my corps commanders. About twelve o'clock at night I was through my work, and started for Hankinson's ferry, arriving there before daylight."

Such was the commander of the Western army, and it is not to be wondered at that he wrested victory from the enemy. The Confederate forces were divided, a part at Jackson and a part in the vicinity of Vicksburg. General Johnston, the chief in command, desired to unite the two wings, but Grant's aim was to keep them divided and beat them in detail. McPherson whipped Pemberton at Raymond, and Grant at once turned his whole army on Jackson, and Johnston was driven from that important point. The temptation to follow Johnston was a great one, but Grant would not yield to it, and soon had his troops rushing like a whirlwind toward Vicksburg. He struck Pemberton again at Champion Hills, and the hardest fought and bloodiest battle of the campaign took place. The position chosen by the Confederates was an excellent one, and they were in strong force. General Hovey, with a division largely composed of Indiana troops, had the advance, and it was not long until a fierce battle was raging. Reinforcements were sent to him as rapidly as possible, but for hours the battle raged, Hovey making assault after assault, until finally the Confederates fled from the field. More than half of the Union loss was in Hovey's division.

The news of these victories were slow in getting to the North. It was necessary to send all communications for the North, back by courier a distance of sixty miles, and then by

boat up the river to Cairo, before a telegraph line could be reached. The news of the success of Grant brought some cheer to the North, and cheer was very much needed at that time, for the Army of the Potomac had met with another terrible defeat. On the very day that Grant was defeating the enemy at Port Gibson, and began driving his army like a wedge between the Confederates, and forcing them back on Jackson and Vicksburg, Hooker was sorrowfully drawing his defeated army back across the Rappahannock from Chancellorsville. Around Fredericksburg seemed to be a fated field to the magnificent Army of the Potomac. Burnside had assaulted its heights in vain. The cry in the East was still "on to Richmond." After Burnside's terrible failure, Lee had settled down in his intrenchments around the little town, and so strong was his position that Hooker knew it would be a useless waste of life to attempt to drive him from it. He conceived a plan to draw him out from his strong places, where a meeting would be on more equal terms. He maneuvered magnificently, and everything pointed to a victory that would end the army of Lee. His own forces were in excellent form, and ready to do and dare. He completely outgeneraled his foe, and for once caught Lee napping. The first moves on the great board of war were in favor of the Union, but Lee had for a Lieutenant a man of wonderful activity and energy, in Stonewall Jackson. His favorite movement was by the flank, and a surprise. Hooker had practically slipped away from Lee, and had crossed a large force over the Rappahannock, and moved with such celerity that he reached the rear of Lee with an army greater than that of the Confederates, before Lee had discovered that a movement had been made from his front. It was a grand piece of strategy, and ought to

have won success, and would have done so had Hooker not stopped an hour too soon. He stopped in the Wilderness instead of pushing his way through, and rested all night, while Lee was moving his army to confront him.

Even then success was in his grasp, for when he moved out of the Wilderness on the next morning, he only had a small part of Lee's army to combat, but instead of advancing and fighting he fell back, thus giving Lee time to still further concentrate his army. Lee did more than that. He conceived a brilliant flank movement of his own. It was not only a brilliant, but an audacious movement. He weakened his forces in front of Hooker, and sent Jackson off with his corps to make a fifteen mile circuit, and to come back within six miles of his starting point. A part of this movement was made in clear view of the Union officers, but they thought it was a retreat. Instead then, of taking advantage of the retreat, as they supposed it to be, and attacking in force, they waited further developments, and while waiting Jackson burst like an avalanche on an exposed flank, finding the men with their guns stacked. This flank was soon in utter rout. Happily for the Union forces, General Pleasanton was just then returning with his cavalry division, and witnessed the overthrow of Howard. He seized upon an admirable position, and massed some thirty guns, and checked the further advance of Jackson. It was while assaulting the Union lines that Jackson received the wound which cost him his life. That night Hooker still further intrenched. He had seventy thousand men to Lee's fifty thousand, but he fell back on the spade and pick. The next morning, May 3, Lee prepared to attack Hooker in his intrenchments, and the Union General made another fatal mistake. A part of his forces occupied Hazel Grove, the

commanding position of the field, but they were ordered to abandon it, and the Confederates at once seized the opportunity, and massed their artillery at that point, which gave them an enfilading fire against Hooker. An attack was made on Sickles, but he repelled the assault, and a fierce contest ensued. His ammunition gave out and he asked for reinforcements, but just at that moment Hooker was stunned by a cannon shot, and no one was left to send aid to Sickles, and that gallant officer was compelled to withdraw. He had repulsed five assaults, while two of the corps of the Union army were within a short distance of him, either of which was stronger than the force assaulting him, but no assistance was sent.

While these movements were going on in and around Chancellorsville, Sedgwick, who had been left to assault Fredericksburg, had driven Early from his position, and was ready to unite with Hooker, but he was ordered to recross the Rappahannock. That night Hooker determined to give up the fight and return to his old position. The Union troops in this abortive attempt lost about 17,000 men, and Lee about 13,000.

Important and cheering as was the news from Grant, it did not dispel the dark cloud of Chancellorsville. Grant knew nothing of the untoward movement of Hooker, but was only intent upon the work that was before him. He pursued Pemberton with such vigor that in a short time he had chased him inside the works at Vicksburg, and had begun to draw his lines around that doomed stronghold. The spirit of his army was so great, that he thought they could take the works at Vicksburg by assault, and as he knew that Johnston was in his rear with a strong force, he feared that if an attempt to take the place by regular siege was



made, he would find the Confederates making every effort to save this stronghold, so he determined to risk an assault. On May 22 Grant's gallant army assaulted the works, but failed in making a lodgment anywhere. He settled himself to a siege, drawing closer and closer to the enemy each day, until by the 3d of July he felt that its capture was certain, and ordered an assault for the next day, but Pemberton, too, had found that he could no longer struggle successfully with the Union forces, and a surrender was agreed upon, which took place the next morning. By this surrender Grant received 31,600 prisoners, 172 cannon and 60,000 muskets. While the preliminaries of the surrender were going on he sent Sherman with his corps, to attack Johnston, who was again at Jackson, and within a few days the capital of Mississippi was once more in possession of the Union troops.

It is time to turn once more to the East. Notwithstanding the defeat at Chancellorsville, the Army of the Potomac was still in good fighting trim, but there was confusion among the officers and at Washington. Lee took advantage of this, and once more set his army in motion through the Shenandoah Valley, this time invading Pennsylvania. Hooker followed him with energy, but just before meeting him, asked to be relieved of his command, and General George G. Meade was placed over this gallant army. General Meade was a Pennsylvanian, who had been identified with the Army of the Potomac from its very organization, and had shared in all its campaigns and battles. It was a trying position for a new commander. His foe was flushed with victory, and was making a daring move to carry the war into the North, perhaps with his eye fixed on Washington. It appears that neither commander knew exactly where his foe was to be found, or what his aims were. Meade, however.

determined to make a stand at Pipe Creek, and force Lee to a fight, or to a retreat. Suddenly, and unexpectedly, on the 1st of July, the advance of the two forces met near Gettysburg. It does not appear that Lee had any well defined object in view, more than to carry the war for awhile away from the vicinity of Richmond. It was supposed in the North that he was aiming at Washington, but if he had any definite plan his own officers did not know of it. He seemed to be wandering about, searching for the Union troops, when, as has been stated, the advance of the two armies met unexpectedly near Gettysburg.

General Reynolds had command of the Union forces, and had occupied Gettysburg, but Meade was preparing to withdraw him from that point to Pipe Creek, when a cavalry reconnoissance struck the advance of Hill's Confederate corps. Hill had heard that Gettysburg was occupied by the Federals, and had sent word back to Longstreet to hasten up. When the battle began Reynolds supported his cavalry with infantry, and for awhile outnumbered the Confederates and gained some decided success, capturing about 1,000 prisoners, but lost his own life at an early stage of the battle. By this time the Confederate reinforcements began arriving on the field, and soon about 50,000 of them were ready to take a hand, while the Federals did not number more than half that many. A desperate contest took place, the Federals being forced back through the town, losing about 10,000 in killed, wounded and prisoners. General Howard, who was in command, seized upon Culp's Hill and determined to make a stand. When Reynolds discovered that the rebels were in strong force, he sent word to Meade, who was some fifteen miles away, and Meade ordered Hancock to Gettysburg, with orders to take command, and to

decide whether the battle should be continued, or whether it would be best to fall back to Pipe Creek. Hancock promptly decided that Gettysburg was the place for a fight, and so notified General Meade, who at once ordered all his forces to converge on that point as speedily as they could march. Lee had also ordered up his remaining forces. All night of the 1st of July, both armies were hastening to the battlefield, and taking positions. Sedgwick, who was thirty five miles away, did not get up until the afternoon of the second, but by daylight of that morning the bulk of both armies were in position.

Both armies nerved themselves for the coming contest. the Federals strengthened their positions by intrenchments. They occupied a ridge known as Cemetery Ridge. By an error Sickles' corps had taken an advanced position, and upon him the assault of the Confederates fell. The struggle was a deadly one, and long contested, but at last the advantage remained with the Confederates, Sickles corps being compelled to retire. On another portion of the field, the Confederates had succeeded also in making a lodgment in the Union lines. This second day's fighting cost the Union forces about 10,000 men. The supreme struggle was to take place on the next day. Early in the morning of the 3d Meade had succeeded in retaking Culp's Hill, lost the evening before. This was the only effort made by either army until the afternoon, the morning being occupied in making preparations for what all saw would be the final struggle. Lee had formed a column 18,000 strong for a desperate charge. For two hours a tremendous cannonade had been going on, when Pickett with his gallant men started on what proved to be the road to death to them. They reached a weak place in the Union line, and for a short time poured over the in-

trenchments, but were soon driven out. They were forced back down the slope up which they had come. This slope was completely commanded by musketry and artillery. To advance, retreat or stand still was alike impossible. The men threw themselves on the ground to escape if possible from the death that was overtaking them. Not one in four escaped; the others were either dead or prisoners. This practically ended the battle, the Confederats on this day losing about 16,000 killed, wounded and prisoners. and the Federals about 3,000.

This was the bloodiest battle of the war, the Federals losing in the three days 23,000, and the Confederates 32,000. The news of this great victory awakened the greatest enthusiasm and rejoicing throughout the North. Lee lingered for a day or two in the vicinity of the fatal field, and then withdrew to the Potomac, eventually crossing that stream into Virginia. The North was just fairly beginning to realize the magnitude of the victory won by Mead, when the news came that Vicksburg had at last fallen. The American people are by nature impatient. When Grant had succeeded in closing around Vicksburg, the North thought it would only be a few days until that stronghold would fall. They expected a quick success like that which had come at Donelson, but strongholds like Vicksburg are not taken in a day. Notwithstanding the daring and brilliant strategy, which had enabled him to so closely invest the Confederate works, the delay in making a complete capture caused a good deal of murmuring, but when the news came that Vicksburg had fallen, and that Grant was in possession with more than 30,000 prisoners, and that the Government once more controlled the Mississippi, with the exception of the works at Port Hudson, which were being invested by Banks,

the rejoicing knew no bounds, and Grant was the idol of the Nation.

The Union loss from the time Grant crossed the river until the final surrender, was less than 10,000, while that of the Confederates exceeded 40,000, of which 31,600 surrendered at Vicksburg. Nearly 200 cannon were captured, and many thousand small arms. As a result of the fall of Vicksburg, Port Hudson, with 6,000 men, surrendered a few days afterward. Strengthened by these victories the Government took heart once more. At the siege of Vicksburg about one seventh of Grant's whole force was composed of Indiana troops. From Bruinsburg to Black River General Hovey's division lost more men, captured more prisoners, and material of war, than any other division. Its captures and losses nearly equaled those of all the rest of the army.

While these important movements were going on, General Rosecrans had been swinging from Murfreesboro to Tullahoma, with the object of driving Bragg from Chattanooga. General Grant did not rest after the capture of Vicksburg, but the next morning a portion of his force was sent to drive General Johnston out of the State. Johnston was attacked at Jackson, on the 9th and badly worsted, his army being practically broken to pieces. The fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson opened the Mississippi River, and it was never closed by the enemy again. General Bragg was concentrating against General Rosecrans, in Tennessee. and General Grant made preparations to send reinforcements to the latter. By a series of masterly maneuvers Rosecrans had driven Bragg out of Chattanooga, but in doing so had separated his own forces to such an extent as to embolden Bragg to turn on him. Bragg had been reinforced by Longstreet's corps, from General Lee's army, which had been per-

mitted to slip away by the inaction which followed the battle of Gettysburg. On September 19 and 20 was fought the great battle of Chickamauga, which resulted in a defeat of the Union troops. The Federal army was only saved from a total overthrow by the stubborn resistance of the troops commanded by General Thomas, of which a good portion were from Indiana. Bragg had been maneuvered out of Chattanooga, but hoped by suddenly turning upon Rosecrans while his army was widely separated, to throw himself between Rosecrans and Chattanooga, thus cutting him off from his base of supplies. In this he failed, but in the fighting on the field he succeeded. The army that was with Rosecrans was a gallant one. It had fought at Shiloh, Perryville and Stone River, and in half a hundred smaller engagements. Rosecrans had won distinguished honors in West Virginia, and at Iuka and Corinth, and had gained the battle of Stone River. He not only had the confidence of his troops, but their affection as well. His brilliant strategy, by which he had succeeded in driving Bragg out of Chattanooga, had increased this confidence and affection. On the other hand, Bragg was disliked by his officers and soldiers, and they had little faith in his capacity to command. So, when the two armies drew near each other the advantage was with the Federals.

Like the battle of Gettysburg, its commencement was in the nature of an accident. Both sides were moving for position when they met, and the conflict began. It was waged all day of the 19th in more or less of a desultory character, Thomas bearing the brunt of it. On some parts of the field the advantage remained with the Confederates, and on others with the Federals. The fighting was severe all the time. During the night Rosecrans succeeded in getting his army

into a more compact formation, and posted in commanding positions, while Bragg received heavy reinforcements. Rosecrans remained on the defensive. The morning of the 20th was accompanied by a heavy fog, and Bragg's assault was delayed for several hours, but at last it came, and with terrible fury. It first fell on Thomas, who had gathered around him not only his own corps, but divisions from each of the two other corps of the Union army. Thomas was able to withstand all the assaults of the enemy, until late in the afternoon. On the right, however, Rosecrans had met with disaster. By a mistake in the movement of his troops, a gap had been left in his line. In front of that gap was Longstreet, one of the ablest Generals on the Southern side, and through it he hurled his troops. A part of the Union forces melted away from this attack without making much resistance, while some other divisions held on tenaciously, but it was not long before the whole right wing had been driven from the field, and Rosecrans himself left and went to Chattanooga.

Thomas, in the meanwhile, was holding stubbornly to his position, repulsing all assaults on his lines, but a storm was preparing for him he was not expecting. Longstreet, after overthrowing the Federal right, prepared to move rapidly against Thomas. The moment was a critical one, but happily for the Union cause some reinforcements came to him without orders, and they reached him just in the nick of time. General Granger, knowing the desperate straits of Thomas, did not wait for orders, but rushed his division to his help, with Stedman in the lead. The last assault was repulsed, and when night came Thomas withdrew from the field. General Thomas, in his account of the battle, says that the only two regiments which broke off from the retreat

of the right wing and marched to join him without orders, were the 44th Indiana and the 17th Kentucky. They both belonged to Crittenden's corps, and hearing the sound of battle where Thomas was still struggling, without orders they turned in that direction and rendered efficient aid.

A volume might be written of like soldierly conduct by Indiana soldiers during the war, some by regiments, some by companies, and some by individuals. At Gettysburg, on the first day, it was a gallant dash of the 19th Indiana, and one Wisconsin regiment, which developed the fact that the Confederates were there in force. In that dash they captured a Confederate brigade. The 19th went into the fight on the first day of July with 288 men. It came out of that day's battle with only seventy-eight. It is told of a Hoosier soldier, Henry Shaler, of Company K, 28th Indiana, that in the battle of Gettysburg he captured more prisoners than were ever captured before by one man. He captured in all twenty-five, taking a lieutenant and eighteen men at one time. On the morning of the 4th, before Lee had retreated, Shaler, so the story goes, went out over the battle field, and soon came across a Confederate lieutenant and eighteen men. They mistook him for one of their own party, when he coolly told them to lay down their arms and come and help carry off some of the wounded. Without thought they obeyed. When he got them some distance from their arms, he drew his revolver and told them to march into the Union lines. This order they also obeyed, but very reluctantly.

One of the last battles of the war was that at Bigler's Creek, Alabama, fought on April 2, 1865. In that Indiana troops greatly distinguished themselves. It was a fight of Wilson's cavalry command with the Confederate Generals, Chalmer and Forrest. The 72d Indiana had broken the Con-



federate lines, when four companies of the 17th Indiana, were ordered to charge with drawn sabers. They dashed at the enemy's works, broke his main line, rode over his guns and finally, after charging clear through the Confederate lines, turned and cut their way out. In this charge Captain Taylor lost his life, having engaged for two hundred yards in a running fight with General Forrest himself. On the next day, in the battle of Selma, the 17th and 72d, with two other regiments, made one of the most brilliant charges of the war. They advanced in single line without support, for six hundred yards, leaped a stockade five feet high, a ditch five feet deep and fifteen wide, and a parapet six feet high, and drove Forrest's strongest brigade, consisting of fifteen hundred men, from works of great strength, and this was all done while sixteen field guns were playing upon them.

It is not intended to attempt anything like making a record of all the daring deeds done by Indiana soldiers during the war, but one or two other incidents will be given. During the first three months' campaign, Corporal Hay, and twelve other members of the eleventh Indiana regiment, had a fight with a body of rebels which recalls the days of chivalry. On the 26th of June, 1861, Corporal Hay was sent out in command of twelve scouts, and suddenly came across a party of fifty Confederate cavalry. The scouts were armed only with muskets, revolvers and saber bayonets. They made a bold charge upon the enemy, chased them for two or three miles, killing eleven of them, and capturing seventeen horses. In the melee Corporal Hay was wounded, and was started to camp in a wagon, with two of the men, leaving only ten behind. These ten were attacked by about seventy-five infantry, afterward reinforced by a small body of cavalry. The scouts retreated to an island, and there, from the

underbrush fought until dark, killing more than twenty of the assaulting force, and losing but one of their own number. When dark came they escaped and returned safely to camp.

In 1862, when Burnside was gathering his forces to attack the heights of Fredericksburg, General Siegel's body guard, composed of portions of Bracken's and Stewart's Indiana cavalry, reached the bluffs on the Rappahannock above Falmouth. There they received information that none but stragglers were in Fredericksburg. They crossed the river on Sunday morning, just as the church bells were ringing, and dashed into the town. They made straight for the railroad depot intent on destroying it. To their surprise they found a body of four hundred Confederate cavalry drawn up to receive them. There were only fifty-seven of the Unionists, led by Lieutenant Carr. Without a moment's hesitation they charged upon the Confederates, broke their line and captured forty prisoners. The Confederates fled and were hotly pursued, until the pursuing force ran against another line of the enemy. This they charged and broke. The Confederate cavalry by this time were forming in their rear, but the plucky Hoosiers cut their way out, capturing more prisoners than they numbered themselves. They held Fredericksburg for more than an hour, and destroyed fifty thousand dollars worth of property. The Confederates lost sixty killed and wounded. Had this daring charge been supported, the Union troops would have been in possession of Fredericksburg, and the bloody battle at that place would have been avoided.

The people of the whole country anxiously looked for an energetic pushing of the war, after the two great successes at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, but once more were doomed

to disappointment. General Grant seemed to be the only one who had a definite plan, or who believed that success was to be achieved by hard and continuous fighting. As soon as he had captured Vicksburg, and made arrangements for driving Johnston's army from Mississippi, he proposed, to the authorities at Washington, to immediately move on Mobile, capture that place and make it a base for supplies for future operations. He argued that such a movement would draw Bragg from his pressure on Rosecrans, and also force Lee to weaken his forces in front of Meade, but Halleck had a notion that it was a matter of the greatest importance to capture Arkansas, Texas and Western Louisiana. What good possession of those States would do, was beyond the comprehension of anybody but Halleck. He was Commander-in-Chief, however, and so Grant's victorious army was split up into a dozen pieces, and sent where it could do no good. A part was sent to Banks, in Louisiana, a part to Missouri, a part to Arkansas, and another considerable portion assigned to the work of chasing guerrillas here and there. While time was thus being wasted, and a proud, veteran army broken to pieces, Bragg turned on Rosecrans, as has been described, and gave him a terrible defeat. Then the people began to clamor for the man who had always won victories, and even the authorities at Washington turned their eyes to him, and Grant was suddenly summoned to take the command of Rosecrans' defeated army. He was but just recovering from an accident, and was hardly able to be moved. While on a visit to New Orleans, a horse he was riding fell on him, and for several hours he was unconscious, and for a week or more was not able to be removed. He had been taken back to Vicksburg, and was superintending the scattering of his army as directed from Washington, when





GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

this summons came. He immediately obeyed. On October 3d he was ordered to proceed to Cairo, and at once started for that point. On his arrival there he was ordered to Louisville.

There he met Secretary Stanton, and was at once placed in command of a new department, which included all the territory between the Mississippi River and the Alleghany Mountains, with the exception of a small part of Louisiana. While in consultation with the Secretary of War he received information that Rosecrans was discussing the question of surrender. He at once relieved him of the command of the army of the Cumberland, and placed General Thomas in charge, with instructions to hold Chattanooga at all hazards. That noble old soldier at once replied that he would hold it until he and his troops should starve. General Grant at once started for Chattanooga. It was a terrible trip for him, in his physical condition, he often requiring to be carried in the arms of his escort. He arrived at Chattanooga on the 23d. He found matters in a terrible condition. Chattanooga was practically cut off from receiving supplies of all kinds; the horses were dying by thousands from starvation and exposure; the men demoralized but still willing to fight. He found that General Thomas had about completed preparations for certain movements which would raise the blockade. He ordered the movements made at once, and within three days the Confederate lines were broken, and communication again established with the North, and abundant supplies began pouring in. Before Grant had been placed in command two corps, from the army of the Potomac, had been sent to Rosecrans, and under his new authority General Grant began hastening troops from all points, being especially urgent that Sherman, with his army of the Ten-

nessee, should come. Before the battle of Chickamauga General Burnside, who was in command at Knoxville, had been ordered, time and again, to go to the help of Rosecrans, but had made no movement, and immediately on the ending of that battle General Bragg had sent Longstreet with his corps to besiege Burnside. Grant had this on his mind, too, and he instructed Burnside to hold out, against all odds, saying that he would soon fight a battle that would effectually relieve him.

Before the arrival of Sherman, Grant had perfected his plan of battle, and only waited for the army of the Tennessee to make his move. Sherman was delayed two or three days beyond the expected time, but at last made his appearance, when, before the last of his troops had arrived, a series of brilliant battles and brilliant victories was begun. On the afternoon of the 23d, just one month from the time Grant had reached Chattanooga, the move forward began, and the advance works of the Confederates, on Orchard Knob, were stormed and captured. This was the beginning of success. The wonderful energy and activity of General Grant, during the month of preparation for the contest, had inspired all his troops, and they were anxious to avenge the defeat at Chickamauga. When the order was given to take the works on Orchard Knob they moved forward in a resistless torrent, and in a few minutes the victory was won. This was a notice to General Bragg that he could not withdraw from his position without a fight, and both sides began preparing for the struggle of the next day, the Confederates being under the disadvantage of not knowing where the blow would fall.

On the 24th, Hooker and his gallant troops stormed and captured Lookout Mountain, and swung to the flank of the

Confederates. This was the famous battle above the clouds. The great battle, however, came early the next day. Hooker held on to his conquest and slowly moved forward; Sherman, away on the left, had been moving all day of the 24th, skirmishing and fighting for a position for the final struggle on the 25th. He had not met with the success expected of him, and when the morning of the 25th came, Grant's plan of battle had to be somewhat modified. The battle opened, soon after sunrise, on Sherman's front. Grant and Thomas had their station on Orchard Knob and anxiously watched the progress of Sherman. He made assault after assault without material success. At noon he had not reached the point he had expected to obtain the night previous, and Thomas, with his splendid army of the Cumberland, were held in hand in the center, awaiting the success of Sherman. Noon came, and still Sherman had not reached the point for co-operative action. At last, between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, General Grant determined to attack the center of Bragg's line, to relieve the pressure on Sherman. The signal was given, and Thomas' troops sprang forward, and almost before the movement could be discerned to be well under way, the Confederates had been driven from their works at the foot of the ridge. The Union troops were over them, the obstructions and defences being surmounted as if the road was clear.

Grant witnessed this magnificent charge, and was congratulating Thomas on the elan of his army, when to his amazement he saw the troops away on the other side of the intrenchments, and climbing the face of the ridge, helping themselves up by clinging to the brush. He at once asked who had given the order for that advance, but no one appeared to know, and it was too late to stop it. On they



went, the heights of Missionary Ridge were scaled, and the center of Bragg's army broken, and he was soon in retreat. The two regiments first to reach the top of the ridge being the 79th and 86th Indiana. Sherman made another assault on the enemy's right, and Hooker one on the left, and the Confederates were hurled back in disastrous defeat. Indiana was represented in the assault on Orchard Knob; her troops were with Hooker on Lookout Mountain, with Sherman in his assaults at the tunnel, and with Sheridan and Wood in the rush over the rifle pits at the foot of the mountain, and were the first to climb the rocky face of the ridge, to the final crowning triumph of the battle. The blood of her sons reddened every part of that sanguinary field, from the first movement to open the communications with the North, until the pursuit of Bragg had ceased.

Bragg was retiring in haste and disorder, his men throwing away their arms and abandoning their artillery and trains, but Grant had still other work to do. Burnside was still besieged at Knoxville, and without giving his men time to rest after the battle, Sherman was started to the relief of Knoxville, and again Indiana troops were in the front. Once more the news of a great victory, won by Grant, aroused the North to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Grant was always restless when not in motion against the enemy, and he again urged the Government to permit him to take his army to Mobile, capture that city and with that as a base move northward toward Virginia, but it was a too daring project for Halleck. The year 1863 had ended gloriously for the Union cause. It had opened with the disastrous overthrow of Hooker at Chancellorsville, but that had been followed by Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Then came the defeat of Chickamauga, but it was soon

counterbalanced by the victories under Grant. The President, during the year had issued two proclamations which were to have an important bearing. On the first day of the year he had declared freedom for the slaves, and on the last day offered amnesty to all in arms against the Government, below the rank of Brigadier General. This last bore fruit from day to day, until the final close of the war. The only dark cloud at the close of the year 1863, was the apparent inactivity of the Army of the Potomac. With the exception of a few skirmishes it had been practically idle since the battle of Gettysburg. It stood facing Lee, but had not prevented him from detaching Longstreet with his corps of veterans to the help of Bragg.

The situation at the beginning of 1864 was this: Grant was still in the neighborhood of Chattanooga, and had driven Longstreet from the siege of Knoxville. That able General was still in Tennessee, and fears were entertained that he might be reinforced by Lee, or from the troops of Bragg, now under command of Joseph E. Johnston, and be made strong enough to overcome the Union forces in East Tennessee. Johnston was in the vicinity of Dalton; Lee facing Meade on the Rapidan. To develop the situation Grant sent Sherman on a raid to Meridian, with Mobile as his real objective, if it could be made. It ended in partial failure. The Government realized that the crisis of the struggle was on; volunteering had practically ceased and the draft had to be resorted to to fill the armies; the peace party was growing stronger in the North. The armies had not been working in harmony, directed to one common end. The troops in the West marched and fought without any regard to operations in the East. This want of concerted action prevented any great permanent success. Foreign na-

tions were growing more impatient. The need of having one man in command of all the armies was felt everywhere. McClellan had been tried and failed; Halleck had been tried, but he, too, had failed. He was still in command. The eyes of the people were turned to Grant. In rank he was the junior of Halleck, and some other officers, and the only way out of the muddle seemed to be the creation of a new rank, or rather the revival of a rank that had formerly existed, but had been in abeyance for many years.

A bill was introduced into Congress to revive the grade of Lieutenant General. This rank had formerly been held by Washington, in fact had been created for him, but on his death it had terminated. Later, after the Mexican War, General Winfield Scott had been made Lieutenant General by brevet, but never held the actual rank. The bill passed on February 27, and on the 9th of March General Grant received his commission and took direct command of all the armies in the field. He had at his command a greater army than had ever been under the leadership of one man, since the invention of gunpowder, and it was scattered over a greater scope of territory than any other army ever had been, during actual war. He put General Sherman in command of his old department, and assumed personal direction of the army of the Potomac. No man had ever been set a greater task. The Eastern army and its officers were strangers to him; they had fought great battles, met terrible defeats and gained wonderful victories; they had made wearisome marches, and had sickened and died in the swamps, and all without murmuring. It was a patient army, a brave army, a disciplined army. It was an army worthy of such a commander, and Grant was worthy of it. It was not long until he imparted to both officers and men, by his quiet manners,

and quick perceptions, the confidence he held himself in the final triumph of the cause, and that their days of retreat had ended. There might, and would be days and nights of marching, and of battle, but their faces were set to the foe, and he was never again to see their backs.

With Grant in supreme command, early in the year 1864 things began to wear a brighter aspect for the Union cause. One mind was now to direct the whole course of the war, and that was a master mind in the art of war. There was to be no more of the hesitating, vacillating policy that had so long prevailed. All the armies of the Union were now to move and act in harmony. Each was to have a different work to do, but the work of one was to supplement that of all the others. Many of the General officers, who had proved dilatory or inefficient, were weeded out of the service, and young and more energetic men were given a chance. General Grant at once turned his mind to evolving one comprehensive plan, having for its object the total overthrow and destruction of the armies of the rebellion. Sherman, with the veteran armies of Tennessee, Cumberland and Ohio, led by such soldiers as Thomas, McPherson and Schofield, was to operate against General Joseph E. Johnston, his first objective point being Atlanta. One dream for three years had animated the minds of those in the East, and that was to capture Richmond, the capital of the Southern Confederacy. "On to Richmond," had been a ceaseless cry with the Eastern papers and politicians. General Grant knew that, except for the moral effect it would have on the people both North and South, and upon foreign nations, the taking of Richmond itself would be of little moment. Therefore he determined to make Lee's army his objective point, knowing full well if Lee's army was destroyed Richmond would fall, and he

also knew that the fall of Richmond, unaccompanied by the destruction of Lee, would not end the war.

Destruction of the armies of the Confederacy was his first object, the taking of cities was only secondary. Thus he wrote to Sherman: "You, I propose to move against Johnston's army, to break it up and get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources." Nothing was said about Atlanta. It was Johnston's army, he was after, and Sherman was ordered to break it up. This was his order to Sherman on the 4th of April. On the 9th he wrote to Meade: "Lee's army will be your objective point. Wherever Lee goes there you will go also." Again, after Sherman had maneuvered the Confederates out of Atlanta, and proposed to march to the sea, Grant wanted Hood's army destroyed. Sherman had taken Atlanta, but the Confederate army was about as strong in numbers as at the beginning of the campaign. Grant wrote to Sherman: "With Hood's army destroyed you can go anywhere you please with impunity," and, "if you can see the chance for destroying Hood's army attend to that first, and make your move secondary." His last order to Meade, just as his troops were crossing the Rapidan, was: "If any opportunity presents itself for pitching into any part of Lee's army, do so without giving time for dispositions." Again, when he sent Sheridan to take command in the Valley, he wrote to Halleck: "I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, there let our troops go also."

He assumed command on March 9, 1864, and on the 23d of that month issued an order that proved of incalculable

benefit to the service. It was for General Philip H. Sheridan to report at Washington, to take command of the cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac. No better selection could have been made for such a service. The Army of the Potomac had at that time the finest body of cavalry in the world, but it had succeeded in accomplishing but little. Its men were brave enough, and its subordinate officers daring and skillful enough, but it had always been held in check, its main duties being to picket the army or guard trains. It had never been given a fair opportunity. Under the new direction a new field was to be opened to it. The infantry were to be left to picket their own lines, and guard their own trains, while the cavalry was to become a fighting body, moving wherever a chance to fight could be found. This soon became known after Sheridan took command, which he did on the 8th day of April. This new order of things caused some clashing in the Army of the Potomac, but Sheridan triumphed. On the march through the Wilderness the cavalry was on the flank, and met and defeated the enemy's troopers at Tod's tavern. General Grant determined to make his move to Spottsylvania. Sheridan, with the instincts of the true commander, saw that Lee would divine the movement and attempt to be ahead of his adversary, and he at once gave orders for the movement of his cavalry. They were ordered to march at a certain hour, seize and hold the bridge over the Po, which Lee would have to use. One of his brigades was already at Spottsylvania, and was ordered to move out and co-operate with the others at the bridge.

General Meade, however, with the old instincts of cavalry guarding trains, without Sheridan's knowledge, ordered the two brigades of cavalry in another direction. This

new movement of the cavalry delayed the march of the infantry, and when it arrived at Spottsylvania, it found the Confederates there, they having defeated the single cavalry brigade. Had Sheridan's orders not been interfered with, the cavalry would have seized and held the bridge until the arrival of the infantry, and thus Lee would have met with a check, the bloody fight at Spottsylvania would have been avoided, and Grant would have been able to break out of the Wilderness between Lee and Richmond, and a year of war would have been saved. A stormy scene ensued between Meade and Sheridan, wherein the latter openly charged that the failure of Grant's plan, and the bloody struggle which would follow was due to the intermeddling with his orders by Meade. During this scene something was said about the Confederate cavalry, when Sheridan impetuously broke out with a declaration that he cared nothing for them, that he could whip them to pieces at any time. This was repeated to Grant by Meade on the next day, and Grant suggested it would be a good thing to let him try it. He was given permission to strike out on his own line, and before the army had ended its fighting around Spottsylvania, Sheridan was off, and within a few days met and almost destroyed the Confederate cavalry, killing its commander, General J. E. B. Stuart.

Grant, on assuming the command of the armies, at once began his preparations for a forward movement which was not to end until the war was brought to a close. This movement was to embrace all the armies scattered over the vast extent of territory. Banks, in Louisiana, Steele, in Arkansas, Sherman in Mississippi, and Grant, on the Potomac, were all to move on the same day, and press forward. The object was to so force the fighting at all points that the

enemy could not detach from one army to reinforce another. When ready for the move his final order was, that whenever the head of a column found an enemy it was to attack at once, being peremptory that there should be no delay for the purpose of securing position, cautioning his Generals that while they would be seeking position, the enemy would be fortifying. Like his subsequent order to Sheridan, "To always keep the enemy in sight," this was the keynote of Grant's method. To him final success meant the destruction of the opposing forces, and to destroy them they must be fought. At midnight, on May 3d, Grant's forward movement began. At that hour the head of his columns crossed the Rapidan, to grapple with the foe for three terrible days in the Wilderness. Sherman also began his wonderful campaign of flank movements and fighting, which was, at the end of seventy days, to give him Atlanta the key of the Southwest.

In the two months Grant had been with the army of the Potomac, he had not been able to impress all his Generals with his idea of war, and consequently his first movement failed of bringing the full fruition he hoped for. General Lee had early been made acquainted with Grant's movement, and at once saw that unless checked it would be fatal to him, so he pushed out his troops to meet those of Grant in the Wilderness. At that meeting the General in command of the advance failed in executing the orders he had received, to fight without delay, and spent sometime in getting into position. Another fatal delay to Grant, was that of General Burnside. This General was proverbially unfortunate. In the forefront of the war he had won fame and distinction, by conducting a successful expedition to the coast of North Carolina. At Antietam he failed in carrying



his line of battle, but was afterward placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, and met with a crushing defeat. While in command at Knoxville he was repeatedly urged and commanded to go to the help of Rosecrans, but nothing would move him. Transferred again to the East, in Grant's movements he was in command of a corps. He failed at the Wilderness to come up, at the time he was expected. Again at Spottsylvania, when he was ordered to assault one part of the Confederate works, to aid the main assault to be made by Hancock, he was so far behind in his preparations that Hancock had to make his fight without his co-operation, and thus the full fruits of victory were not obtained. At Petersburg it was the same old story, yet he was a gallant and patriotic officer.

When Grant moved into the Wilderness it was with the full determination to utterly destroy Lee's army, before he was through with him. He had flanked the Confederates, and hoped to get through the Wilderness before his enemy could meet him in force, and thus compel Lee to fight him on open ground, where his superior numbers would give him all the advantage. In this he was disappointed. Lee early had information of the movement, and was well aware that if Grant was permitted to get through the Wilderness he would succeed in placing his army between the Confederates and Richmond. He hurried his troops off to meet and fight in the tangled woods of the Wilderness. The Wilderness was a large scope of country that had formerly been heavily timbered, but the timber having been cut off it had grown up with an almost impenetrable growth of brush and small trees. Through this tangle there were only two or three roads or highways. The disadvantage of moving a large army over a single road, encumbered by its wagon and ar-

tillery trains, materially delayed General Grant, and Lee was able to throw a considerable force across his pathway. Grant's orders had been to his various corps commanders to fight at sight of the enemy, without waiting to get into position. Had that order been carried out with the determination Grant intended, his advance corps would have brushed away the Confederate force, and broken from the Wilderness into the open ground, but cautiousness and not ardor was the order of the day, and while the Union troops were seeking positions, making reconnoissances, and "feeling" the enemy, the enemy intrenched and at the same time was largely re-inforced by the troops Lee was hurrying forward. The Confederates were desperate; they realized the necessities of the hour, and fought as even they had never fought before. For three days the deadly conflict went on, amid more horrors than ever before were seen on a battle field, for the tangled brush took fire between the contending forces, and swept across the ground over which the two armies had been fighting, burning and suffocating the wounded.

Having failed to push or fight his way through the Wilderness, General Grant determined to again try his favorite flank movement, and he turned to Spottsylvania Court House. Again the delays occasioned by the blundering of one commander, and the tardiness of another, thwarted his movement, and the bloody battle of Spottsylvania was the result. Had Meade realized at that time that the cavalry was a fighting force, and permitted the orders of Sheridan to be carried out, the cavalry would have been in front of Lee, when he moved to check the flanking by Grant, and would have held the Confederates, until the infantry would have had time to seize the strong positions around the Court

House, but such things were not to be, and when Grant's advance arrived it found Lee strongly intrenched. Grant did not delay, but as fast as his troops arrived hurled them against the works of the enemy. Here and there success followed these assaults, but no substantial advantage was gained.

The key to the Confederate position was a V shaped salient, and Grant determined to capture that, and thus drive his army like a huge wedge between the forces of Lee. The task was assigned to Hancock and his superb corps. In the night Hancock moved to the position assigned him. Burnside and Warren were ordered to assault the works at other points, to prevent Lee from reinforcing the salient. Just as daylight came Hancock sprang with unexampled fury on the salient. His men poured over the obstructions in an irresistible stream. The works were won, but it was to take desperate fighting to hold them, for both Warren and Burnside failed to make their part of the concerted movement in time, or with strength enough to prevent Lee from hastening to the great point of danger. All day long, and until in the night the deadly fight went on, sometimes with clubbed muskets, until the triangle run with blood. Assault after assault was made by the Confederates to retake the works, but Hancock and Wright were there, and they were never known to yield. Lee was defeated, but again Grant had failed to get between him and Richmond.

For a week longer Grant kept moving his choicest troops back and forth through the tangled woods, searching for another weak place in the defensive works of his enemy, but in vain. He then determined upon another and the most daring flanking movement of the whole war. He spread his whole army out over more than twenty miles of roads,

and for a week he and Lee raced along within a few miles of each other. To an army approaching Richmond from the northeast, two roads were essential. One was at Old Cold Harbor, and the other at New Cold Harbor. From New Cold Harbor a straight road led into Richmond; from Old Cold Harbor were roads leading to the James and Pamunkey Rivers. If Lee could seize New Cold Harbor, he would bar the path to Richmond, but if he could also seize Old Harbor, he would be able to prevent Grant from establishing a base upon either the Pamunkey or James. If Grant could obtain Old Cold Harbor he could unite with Butler at Bermuda Hundreds, and have a new base from which to move against Lee and Richmond. Each seized the one that was necessary to his own safety, but failed in getting the other; thus Grant got Old Cold Harbor, and was able to unite with Butler, and establish his new base; but Lee got New Cold Harbor, and thus barred the road to Richmond.

Grant at once determined to assault Lee in his new position and drive him, if possible, from his path. The assault was made with all the gallantry characteristic of the army of the Potomac, but Lee was too strong in his intrenchments. This assault and repulse was the bloodiest fifteen minutes ever known on a battle field, for the fighting was over in a quarter of an hour. Then began another campaign, the slow siege of Petersburg. Grant moved his army south of the James and set himself diligently and earnestly to the task before him. Lee added day by day to the defensive works around Petersburg, and the siege went on with more or less fighting every day, Grant slowly wearing away his enemy.

Twice Grant had had Petersburg in his power, as well as Richmond, and only failed through the over-cautiousness of his subordinates. He had planned that while he was

fighting Lee, in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania, Butler, with a large force should land at Bermuda Hundreds and march rapidly to Richmond. He landed, and there was only a small force of Marines and a few invalid soldiers between him and Richmond, but their commander made an audacious show of force, and notwithstanding Butler could have marched on and into Richmond with hardly a moment's delay, he stopped to reconnoitre, to throw up intrenchments, and to rest, and when he was ready to move, the Confederates were in his front in strong force, and were able to bar his way. They did more than that, they threw up works across a narrow neck of land, and had him, as Grant expressed it, "bottled up." At another time Grant had maneuvered so as to draw nearly every Confederate soldier from Petersburg, while leaving a strong force of his own to move in and take possession. Again his subordinate failed him through over-cautiousness. He wasted the daylight in making reconnoissances of empty works, and then when night came he waited for daylight to return that he might enter and take possession. He waited too long. The enemy was busy while he was resting, and all night long marched into the works that had been deserted. At still another time, when the siege of Petersburg had been going on for weeks, Grant maneuvered so as to draw Lee away from its defences, Burnside was left by Grant to explode a mine that had been constructed, and in the confusion of its explosion storm and capture the works. The plan was well laid and only failed from want of energy at the vital moment.

While these movements and battles were taking place in the East, Sherman was slowly pushing his way to Atlanta. The great forward movements of Grant and Sherman were to be made simultaneously. Each had a distinctive object—

the crushing of the Confederate army opposed to him. The date fixed for the simultaneous movement was the 5th of May. At that time Sherman had under his command three distinct armies—that of the Cumberland, General George H. Thomas, commanding; that of the Tennessee, under General James B. McPherson, and that of the Ohio, under General John M. Schofield. Of these the Army of the Cumberland was much the largest, in fact it was more than twice as strong as both of the others combined. Altogether Sherman had under his immediate command more than one hundred thousand veterans. His armies were used to victory. The only defeat that either had met with was at Chickamauga. The army of the Tennessee was the one originally commanded by Grant, and under him had won every battle it had fought. Thomas had been the rock at Stone River and Chickamauga, and his men loved and confided in him. McPherson had been with the army of the Tennessee from its organization. Schofield had won laurels in Missouri. The corps were equally well commanded. There were Hooker, Howard, Logan, Palmer, Blair and Davis. All fighters. Fronting the Federal troops was General Joseph E. Johnston, with a veteran Confederate army. He held strong positions and had others to retire on. Atlanta was the key of the Southwest, but between it and Sherman was many a weary march, and many a hard fought field to be won.

Full fifty regiments of Indiana troops started on that memorable campaign with Sherman. The first trial of battle was at Resaca. From that on for more than sixty days it was almost one continual battle. When a battle failed to dislodge the stubborn foe Sherman would resort to a flank movement, and then the contest would begin again, Johnston slowly falling back. At Kenesaw Mountain Sherman

experienced his first decided check, but after the vain assault on that stronghold he again began his flanking movements, which rendered the Confederate position no longer tenable. On the 20th of July, the army had reached almost to Atlanta, and a series of desperate battles began. In the movements the Army of the Ohio and of the Tennessee had been separated from the Army of the Cumberland. General Hood, who had just superceded Johnston in command of the Confederate forces, determined to make a bold attempt to drive back the invaders. He secretly massed almost his entire army in the heavy timber, near where the Army of the Cumberland was to cross Peach Tree Creek. The Confederates had withdrawn their skirmish line for the purpose of deceiving the Federal officers, as to the neighborhood of an army ready to pounce upon them. At 3 p. m., the Confederates in masses rushed from the woods, and attacked the Federals in front and on both flanks, with an impetuosity that threatened for a time to carry everything before them, but they had veterans to deal with. The enemy had come out determined to overthrow and destroy Sherman's army, and had well conceived the blow, and it was well delivered. It struck first at one flank and then another, and then again in front. From 3 o'clock until after 6, these desperate assaults were continued, and then the effort to break the Union line was sullenly abandoned. The fact that four divisions and one brigade, in open field were able not only to withstand the assaults that were to overthrow the entire Union army, but to repulse the attacks with destructive effects on those making them, shows of what the army of the Cumberland was made.

Notwithstanding this disastrous termination of the grand attempt to drive back the Northern invaders, the

Confederates determined not to yield Atlanta without still further struggles. On the 22d of July, while the Army of the Tennessee was changing position to close upon Atlanta, General Hood sallied from the fortifications and struck the most exposed flank. At first he met with some success and the Union forces were driven back in some confusion. General McPherson, the commander of the Army of the Tennessee, in hastily passing through the woods to reach his imperilled flank, was shot and killed. The command fell upon General John A. Logan. Mounted on his horse this dashing officer seized a flag, and rode like a whirlwind back and forth, rallying his men and inspiring them with his own ardent courage. They rallied and once more the enemy was hurled back to hide themselves within their fortifications.

While the movements and battles described, were taking place in the East and Sherman was slowly forcing his way to Atlanta, to the people of the North the end looked as far off as ever, and the murmurings against the cost in blood and treasure grew deeper as the days went by. The price of gold kept mounting higher and higher, and with it the cost of living. Draft riots were taking place, and the outlook for the Union wore its gloomiest aspect. The Democratic party in the North had declared, in its National Convention, that the war had been a failure, and demanded a peace. To add to the despair of the Government, Lee had been enabled to detach from his army a large force which was sent through the Shenandoah Valley to invade Maryland, and strike at Washington. This force succeeded in eluding one Federal commander and defeating another, before it broke across the Potomac River. Apparently it had clear sailing from there to Washington. Fortunately for the country an In-



diana soldier, General Lew Wallace, was in command at Baltimore. He had only a small force within his reach, and much of that was composed of recruits, and he knew that he would be defeated, but he also knew that time was all important to enable Grant to send troops to the defense of Washington, so he went out to fight a large and veteran army, with his little force of recruits, aided by a small reinforcement of veterans, which had reached him. He did fight, and with such energy that he caused a delay of more than thirty hours, in the march of General Early. When that General reached the outskirts of Washington on one side, the advance of an army corps from Grant's army was marching into the city on the other. Early turned back, losing his great prize.

He still raided at pleasure through Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley, gathering in much needed supplies for Lee's army.. All this added to the feeling of distrust in the North as to the final outcome. An election was to be held, and a President and a new Congress chosen, and a feeling of despair, almost, seized upon the loyal men of the North. Unless victory should soon come the Peace party would win at the election. Halleck was still at Washington, interfering as much as he could, with Grant's plans. To show the condition of affairs at Washington it will be well to quote from some of the dispatches which passed between Grant and the authorities in that city. This correspondence, also shows how they all instinctively turned to Grant. Assistant Secretary of War, Dana, telegraphed him as follows: "Nothing can be done here for the want of a commander. General Augur commands the defences of Washington, with McCook and a lot of Brigadier Generals under him; Wright commands his own corps. General Gilmore has been as-

signed to the temporary command of those troops of the Nineteenth Corps in the city of Washington; General Ord to command the Eighth Corps, and all the other troops in the Middle Department, leaving Wallace to command the city alone. But there is no head to the whole, and it seems indispensable that you should at once appoint one."

Again Dana said, by direction of Secretary Stanton: "Advice or suggestion from you will not be sufficient. General Halleck will not give orders except as he receives them." The President himself asked Grant to come to Washington.

Grant would not let go his hold on Lee, but looked around for a commander for the Valley. He had two men on whom he could always rely—Hancock and Sheridan. Those two Generals were always at the designated point at the designated hour, and Hancock had demonstrated on several occasions that he could and would fight as long as a man was left to fire a gun. Grant chose Sheridan, and in announcing this said to General Halleck:

"I am sending General Sheridan for temporary duty, whilst the enemy is being expelled from the border. Unless General Hunter is in the field in person, I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, there let our troops go also. Once started up the Valley, they ought to be followed until we get into possession of the Virginia Central railroad. If General Hunter is in the field, give Sheridan direct command of the Sixth Corps and the cavalry division. All the cavalry will reach Washington in the course of tomorrow."

This was plain and precise enough, it would seem, but

the following singular dispatch from President Lincoln to Grant will shed a wonderful light on the whole matter:

"Lieutenant General Grant:

"I have seen your dispatch in which you say, 'I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy, follow him to the death,' etc. This I think is exactly right, as to how our forces should move. But please look over the dispatches you may have received from here, even since you made that order, and discover, if you can, that there is any idea in the head of anyone here of putting our army south of the enemy, or of following him to the death, in any direction. I repeat to you it will not be done, nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour and force it. "A. LINCOLN."

To this Grant promptly replied: "I start for Washington in two hours." He started, but did not stop at Washington, passing through to the front, pausing only long enough to leave orders for Sheridan to join him at Monocacy. There he placed Sheridan in command, and gave him his instructions, returning again to City Point. Before Sheridan finally started on his victorious sweep, Grant again became anxious, and resolved to visit him in person. In his Memoirs, he says: "Knowing it was impossible for me to get orders through Washington to Sheridan, to make a move, because they would be stopped there, and such orders as Halleck's caution, and that of the Secretary of War, would suggest, would be given instead, and they would, no doubt, be contradictory of mine, I therefore, without stopping at Washington, went directly through to Charlestown, some ten miles from Harper's Ferry, and waited there to see Sheridan, having sent a courier in advance to tell him where to meet me." It was at that interview, after hearing Sheridan's

plan of campaign, that Grant gave the laconic order, "Go in," which has become historic. Sheridan did go in, and within a few weeks Early's army ceased to be. It had been captured or scattered to the four winds, while Sheridan had in his train every gun with which Early had attempted to oppose him. Just at this time came also the news of the fall of Atlanta. The people of the North took confidence, the price of gold fell, and Mr. Lincoln was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, and to back it all, the loyal people of the Northern States, or rather the war party, got control of all the State Legislatures.

During the entire war the Shenandoah Valley had been the granary, the storehouse of the Confederacy. It was exceedingly fertile, and the great mass of its people were sympathizers with the South. They planted their fields and harvested their crops, and then the Confederate forces would move up the Valley in force, sweeping off to the South great stores of grain. In this expedition of 1864, Early had already gathered much of the harvest. He had penetrated, as has been told, into Maryland. Wallace had fought him at Monocacy and detained him a day and a half. When he arrived at the suburbs of Washington, the advance of an army corps from City Point was debarking at the foot of Seventh street. The delay at Monocacy had been fatal to him. Washington had slipped from his grasp. He slowly retired again into the Valley, and marched up and down as he pleased. It was on the 6th of August that Sheridan had been placed in full command, and his orders were to whip Early, and then so devastate the Valley that it would never again offer an inducement for an invasion from the South. He did both completely. So completely did he destroy Early's army, that its condition, when he was through with

it is best told in the quaint words of President Lincoln. When the President received the dispatches announcing the result of Sheridan's last fight with Early, he said he thought Early's army was in about the same condition as a dog he had heard a man once say he had killed by filling a piece of punk with powder, and setting it on fire. He clapped it inside a biscuit, and as the dog rushed at him as usual, tossed the biscuit to him; in an instant the dog snapped it up and swallowed it. Presently the fire touched the powder, and away went the dog, his head in one place, a leg here and another there, and the different parts of him scattered about. "But," said the man, "as for the dog, as a dog, I was never able to find him."

For some time after Sheridan had been placed in command of the Army of the Shenandoah, he was busy in studying the lay of the land, and in getting his army well in hand, but at last he was ready to strike, and strike he did. Sheridan was the very apotheosis of war; he was the embodiment of swift, relentless battle. By September 19 he had all his preparations made, and early that morning started out to do battle. He had inspired his men with his own supreme confidence. The Valley had hitherto been an unfortunate place for the Union soldiers, and they had lost every battle fought therein, but a change was coming. It was about noon before he had his army well up to open the battle, but when it did open it raged furiously for hours. On one or two portions of the field the Union troops were temporarily checked, and at one point were repulsed for a short time. Sheridan was making a determined effort to break Early's center, when, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Torbett and Crook at the head of the Union cavalry swung superbly from the woods, and dashed at the Confederate left,

and the infantry once more charged upon the center. At the same moment, Wilson, with his cavalry division, swung in on the other flank. This combined charge was too much for the Confederates, and they fled from the field, leaving in the hands of Sheridan 2,500 prisoners, nine battle flags, and five pieces of artillery. They also left 3,100 wounded in Winchester. Sheridan, pursued hotly, pausing only long enough to send the following laconic dispatch to Secretary Stanton: "We have just sent the rebels whirling through Winchester, and are after them to-morrow." This brief dispatch was soon spread over the North, and at this day it is hardly possible to conceive the effect produced on public opinion, and the feeling of hope it aroused. The result of this battle was to restore to the Union the whole of the Valley north of Winchester, and that control was never again lost. Sheridan never failed. His first independent fight was within a few days after he took command of his regiment. He fought Forrest and defeated him, although that great leader of cavalry had a force more than three times greater than that of the plucky Colonel. He had fought with distinguished gallantry at Perryville, Stone River, Chickamauga, and Mission Ridge, and had opened the fight in the Wilderness by a contest with Stuart's cavalry at Todd's Tavern. While Grant was at Spottsylvania, he cut loose with his cavalry corps from the Army of the Potomac and overthrew Stuart and his cavalry, at Yellow Tavern. All of these had been subordinate movements, but he was now to prove that he had all the qualities for a successful independent command—to establish that he was one of the great Generals of history.

Sheridan was one of those commanders, unfortunately very rare, who are not content to rest after a victory. He

had marched and fought all day of the 19th, but by daylight of the 20th his troops were hurrying after the retreating Confederates. They overtook Early at Fisher's Hill, in a very strong position and admirably protected by earthworks. Sheridan determined upon a flank attack. The preparations for this attack occupied all the night of the 20th, and of the day of the 21st. In fact, it was not until near sundown of the 22d that all was ready. Then the blow fell, and before dark Early was driven in a panic from his strong position, and all that night the pursuit of the flying Confederates was maintained. In this battle and pursuit 1,200 prisoners were taken, and twenty pieces of artillery. This victory, following so closely on the heels of the other, fairly set the North wild with delight. Sheridan kept up the pursuit until the enemy was driven entirely from the Valley. Then he turned and devoted himself to the other part of his instructions—destroying the Valley. While engaged in this work he was considerably annoyed by the Confederate cavalry under Rosser, attacking his rear and flanks. On the evening of the 8th of October, Sheridan called General Torbett and told him that he was expected to give battle the next day to Rosser, and whip him to such an extent that he would cause no further trouble, saying that until that affair was over the infantry would be halted, and that he proposed to witness the battle from Round Top Mountain. Promptly at 7 o'clock the next morning Torbett attacked the head of Rosser's column. For two hours the battle raged, when the Union cavalry charged along the whole line, and the Confederates broke and fled in complete rout, every Southern trooper putting spurs to his horse, striving to save himself as best he could. It was a wild stampede for twenty miles. Three hundred prisoners, eleven pieces of artillery, with

their caissons, and every wagon and ambulance the Confederates had were captured. This battle and its pursuit became historic as the "Woodstock Races."

Sheridan's greatest battle and greatest victory, in the Valley, was yet to come. Those he had won had kept the North filled with amazement and joy, and the South with confusion and dismay, but the crowning triumph was to come. In following out his orders to devastate the Valley, and to give his army time to recruit and rest from the fatigues it had undergone, Sheridan had fallen back to Cedar Creek. Early slowly followed him, having been reinforced from Richmond, and took position at Fisher's Hill. Sheridan was called to Washington, to consult with Secretary Stanton and General Halleck, leaving his army under the command of General Wright. General Gordon, who was with Early, conceived the idea of surprising the Union army. He discovered that a way could be found around the mountain to Sheridan's left, where but little or no effort had been made to protect the flank, it being thought impossible for an army to reach it. His plan was to dismount a portion of the cavalry and fight them in front as infantry, thus keeping from the Federals the knowledge that the infantry had been moved. He moved his men around the mountain in the darkness of the night of the 18th of October, the movement taking all night. His plan worked well, and at or a little before daylight, on the morning of the 19th, his command dashed into the Federal camp, slaying right and left. So sudden and impetuous was the onset that two corps of the Union army were broken to pieces, losing in killed and wounded several thousand men, and twenty-four pieces of artillery. This was not accomplished without some desperate fighting on the part of the surprised Union



troops. It was a complete and seemingly crushing defeat, and the Federals had retreated several miles before any kind of a formation could be made to resist the pursuit, and stay the tide of disaster.

Sheridan was at Winchester, twenty miles away, when all this happened. He was on his return from Washington, and early in the morning had heard the firing from the battlefield, but supposed it was occasioned by a reconnoissance he had ordered before he departed from his army, and at first paid little attention to it. As he was riding out toward his army, however, he met some of the stragglers, and was informed that his army had been overwhelmed, and was retreating in great disorder. He hurried to the field, turning back the stragglers as he galloped along the road, telling them he would make it all right and get back their artillery and camp. The men rallied at his presence and turned and hurried back to the field they had so lately left. As soon as he reached the front he addressed himself to the task of reorganizing his lines. He dashed along the lines waving his hat, and was everywhere received with cheers. While he was reorganizing his lines the Confederates made another attack, but it was handsomely repulsed. The enemy then began strengthening his lines by breastworks. About 4 o'clock all was in readiness and Sheridan ordered an assault on the new lines of the Confederates. It was gallantly made, and so fiercely did the Union troops move to the fight that almost in a moment the Confederate lines were swept from the field. It was the intention of General Sheridan to hold back his left, after the enemy had been driven from the lines, and by advancing his right throw the Confederates to the east, thus cutting them off from a retreat to Fisher's Hill, but the eagerness of the troops would not be restrained, and

the whole line of Early was soon flying in a rout, such as had never before been seen on a battlefield. Sheridan not only recaptured the guns, wagons and camp lost early in the morning, but took from the enemy twenty-four guns, all his ambulances, and 1,200 prisoners.

Such a turning of the tide had never before been witnessed. Defeats had sometimes been changed into victory by the arrival of reinforcements, but never before by the appearance of a single man. It stamped Sheridan as one of the greatest commanders the world had ever known, and the news of his achievement set the whole North ablaze with enthusiasm. It did more, it re-elected President Lincoln by an overwhelming majority a month later. Sheridan was the idol of the loyal nation and his ride and victory were commemorated in song, and he was made a Major General in the regular army. The poem of T. Buchanan Reade on this ride and victory of Sheridan will always stand, and grow in favor as the years go by. It makes a fitting close to a recital of Sheridan's Valley campaign.

#### SHERIDAN'S RIDE.

Up from the south at break of day,  
Bringing to Winchester fresh dismay,  
The affrighted air with a shudder bore,  
Like a herald in haste, to the chieftain's door,  
The terrible grumble and rumble and roar,  
Telling the battle was on once more,  
And Sheridan twenty miles away.

And wider still those billows of war  
Thundered along the horizon's bar,  
And louder yet into Winchester rolled  
The roar of that red sea uncontrolled,

Making the blood of the listener cold  
As he thought of the stake in that fiery fray,  
With Sheridan twenty miles away.

But there is a road from Winchester town,  
A good broad highway leading down;  
And there through the flash of the morning light  
A steed as black as the steeds of night  
Was seen to pass as with eagle flight.  
As if he knew the terrible need,  
He stretched away with the utmost speed;  
Hills rose and fell—but his heart was gay,  
With Sheridan fifteen miles away.

Still sprung from those swift hoofs, thundering south,  
The dust, like smoke from the cannon's mouth;  
Or the trail of a comet, sweeping faster and faster,  
Forboding to traitors the doom of disaster.  
The heart of the steed, and the heart of the master,  
Were beating like prisoners assaulting their walls,  
Impatient to be where the battlefield calls;  
Every nerve of the charger was strained to full play,  
With Sheridan only ten miles away.

Under his spurning feet the road  
Like an arrowy Alpine river flowed,  
And the landscape sped away behind  
Like an ocean flying before the wind;  
And the steed, like a bark fed with furnace ire,  
Swept on with his wild eyes full of fire;  
But lo! he is nearing his heart's desire,  
He is snuffing the smoke of the roaring fray,  
With Sheridan only five miles away.

The first that the General saw were the groups  
Of stragglers, and then the retreating troops;  
What was done—what to do—a glance told him both,  
And, striking his spurs, with a terrible oath,

He dashed down the line 'mid a storm of huzzahs,  
And the wave of retreat checked its course then because  
The sight of the master compelled it to pause.  
With foam and with dust the black charger was gray;  
By the flash of his eyes and his red nostril's play  
He seemed to the whole great army to say,  
"I have brought you Sheridan all the way  
From Winchester down to save the day!"

Hurrah, hurrah for Sheridan!  
Hurrah, hurrah for horse and man!  
And when their statutes are placed on high,  
Under the dome of the Union sky—  
The American soldiers' Temple of Fame—  
Then with the glorious General's name  
Be it said in letters both bold and bright;  
"Here is the steed that saved the day  
By carrying Sheridan into the fight,  
From Winchester—twenty miles away!"

Among the foremost troops of those who marched and fought their way from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and those that followed Sheridan in his sweep down the Valley, were some from Indiana. It is worthy of mention that one Indiana regiment, that fought under Sheridan in the Valley, the Eleventh, had begun its historic career in the same Valley in 1861. It had then been sent West, and had fought at Shiloh, at Donelson, and at Vicksburg, and had then gone to the aid of Banks in Louisiana and Texas, and at last had been again called to battle in the very section in which it had first soldiered. Sheridan remained in the Valley for some time, clearing it of every semblance of armed enemies. Sherman rested around Atlanta for a few weeks, and then began his march to the sea. This march did not have so much of a

military object as a diplomatic one. It was to demonstrate not only to this country, but to foreign nations, that the Confederacy was a hollow shell. The French aggressions in Mexico were becoming troublesome, and of a very threatening nature. If Sherman could cut loose from a base and march across the Confederacy it would demonstrate two things: First, that the power to resist further was gone from the Confederacy; second, that the Union was able to march its troops where it pleased and do what it pleased, when it saw fit to put forth that power. Thus the South would be dispirited and lose hope, while the North would be inspired to make the final effort, and at the same time it would be a warning to foreign nations that to interfere would be dangerous.

On the 14th of November, General Sherman cut the telegraphic communication between Atlanta and the North and the next day his army, 60,000 strong, started on that march that pierced the Confederacy and demonstrated to the world the power and the might of the Nation. Nothing was heard from him or his army until the latter part of December, when he appeared before Savannah. When General Sherman started upon this march he left General Hood and his army in his rear. General Hood had started on a daring invasion of Tennessee, with the ultimate hope of forcing his way into Kentucky, and perhaps even across the Ohio River. It was a movement full of audacity, but if persisted in could have but one end. He had neither the strength nor the material to win success, and sooner or later he must retreat or be utterly destroyed. General Thomas, with the Army of the Ohio and a part of the Army of the Cumberland, was left to deal with Hood. When he got through with him, before Christmas, Hood's army had

ceased to be. General Thomas was compelled to fall back for some distance, to concentrate his forces and to receive the reinforcements he expected from the North. Those reinforcements were slow in arriving, and he had difficult work to procure horses for his cavalry and artillery.

General Schofield, who was in command of the Army of the Ohio, was pushed very hard by General Hood until he arrived at Franklin, Tennessee. At that point he concluded that he had retreated far enough for that time, and that he would measure arms with his enemy. On the 30th of November, having hastily improvised some intrenchments and earthworks, he awaited the assaults of the Confederates. The battle of Franklin will stand out in the history of the war as one of the hottest and most fiercely debated of its conflicts. Two small brigades, which had been left far in advance of General Schofield's lines, with orders to simply check the enemy, construed their orders to mean to hold their position to the last moment. This came very near causing a disaster. They were overwhelmed with a rush, and so closely did the enemy press them that the Confederates crossed Schofield's line at the same time of the retreating brigades. The Union line was broken at two or three places, when Colonel Opdycke, at the head of his brigade, rushed to the imperiled lines and with the bayonet drove the enemy back and recaptured the lost artillery, with four hundred prisoners, wrenched ten battle flags from the hands of the enemy and once more re-established the Union lines.

The Confederates made one desperate charge after another, and only ceased their efforts to overthrow Schofield when night came. In no battle of the war were so many general officers killed and wounded. The Confederates lost

five Generals killed, six wounded and one captured. The Union troops captured thirty-three battle flags. General Hood buried seventeen hundred and fifty men on the field. He had three thousand eight hundred so disabled as to be placed in hospitals, and lost largely in prisoners. The night after the battle General Schofield continued his retreat to Nashville, where he joined General Thomas.

He was followed by Hood, who declined to attack the Union forces at Nashville, but threw up elaborate intrenchments, behind which he posted his forces. General Thomas, as rapidly as possible, reorganized his troops, remounted his cavalry, and prepared his artillery for the coming battle. It was not until the 15th of December that he felt justified in assaulting the Confederate works, but on that day he marched out and began the historic battle of Nashville. He drove the enemy from many of his chosen positions, and on the 16th of December completed the glorious victory he had begun the day before, and Hood's army, as an army, was totally destroyed. In both the battle at Franklin and at Nashville Indiana troops were largely represented.

Thus, at the end of 1864, Sherman presented to the Union Savannah, with all its stores and artillery; Sheridan had cleared the Valley of Confederate troops; Schofield and Thomas had destroyed the only army the Confederacy had in the West; Admiral Porter and General Terry had taken Fort Fisher, and Grant still held Lee as in a vise. When 1865 opened Grant began to prepare for the closing campaign. Sherman was to march northward, sweeping the country as he moved, while Grant was to deliver the last crushing blow to Lee. Lee knew that the end was near. In fact, he had long known it, had known it from the time Grant had assumed command of the Army of the Potomac.

That gallant army did not receive him very enthusiastically at first, but before it had reached Spottsylvania Court House it had learned to trust him. It is said that when he started on his move from the Wilderness to Spottsylvania, the troops at first took it for a retreat, and were very much discouraged, but when they discovered that the army had again turned southward, they broke into such cheering that the Confederates took it as meaning a new assault on their lines, and replied with a furious cannonade. It was then the Army of the Potomac felt sure, for the first time, that they were being directed by one who meant to go forward, and that there was to be no more re-crossing the Rapidan.

When the spring of 1865 came it found the Army of the Potomac still resolute, notwithstanding the slow siege of Petersburg had been very trying. They felt that the hour of their final and decisive victory was approaching. Sheridan, when he had finished Early in the Valley, had cut loose with his bold troopers, and had once more raided almost to the very doors of the Confederate capital, destroying the railroads and canals, severing the communication with Lee, thereby cutting off his supplies, and then had joined Grant, where he was to reap more laurels. Grant reached out, with Sheridan's cavalry, supported by infantry, for the only railroad left to Lee, and finally struck it. Five Forks, told Lee that he had no time to tarry in Richmond or Petersburg, if he would escape. Grant saw the moment and had fixed a date for a final assault upon the works of Petersburg, and President Lincoln had gone to City Point, but circumstances forced Grant to make his date two days earlier than he had anticipated. Here, too, it was given to an Indiana soldier to make the assault and capture the last fort held by the Confederates at Petersburg—General R. S.

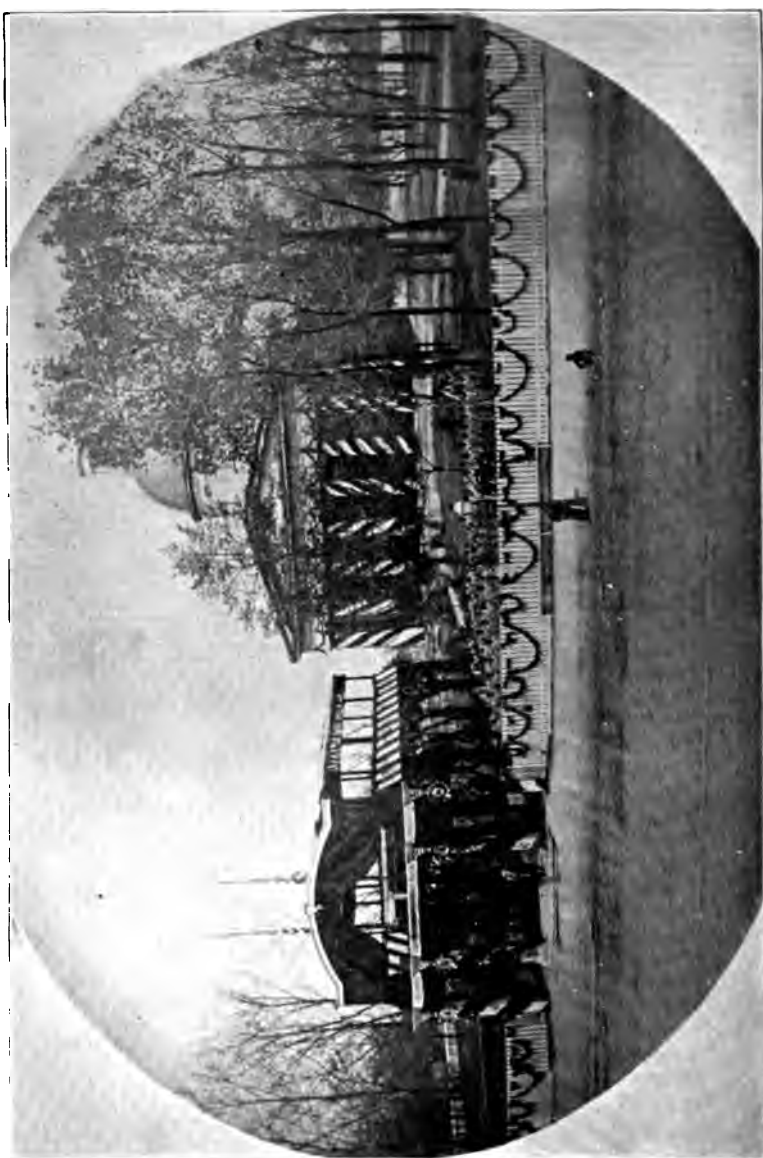


Foster. It fell to General Foster's lot to fire the last gun at Appomattox, before Lee surrendered. With his division he confronted the last line of battle ever formed by the Army of Northern Virginia.

On the 1st day of April, 1865, General Grant opened a furious cannonade on the works around Petersburg, preparatory to the assault he intended to make the next day, and to keep Lee from doubling on Sheridan, who was fighting at Five Forks. The cannonading was kept up for many hours. At 5 o'clock the next morning the attack was made, and from right to left the Confederates were driven into the interior works. All had been taken but Forts Gregg and Whitworth. Then came the assault upon them, and with clubbed muskets the Confederates were driven back on the tide that was sweeping up from the other portions of the intrenchments. Lee had sent word to Richmond that he could no longer protect that city, and on the 2d it was abandoned by the Confederate government, and the next day General Weitzel, at the head of the Union troops, took possession. General Grant had intended to assault the inner works of Petersburg on the 3d, but Lee evacuated them the night before. Now it was a race; Lee striving to get away, either to join Johnston in North Carolina, or to escape to the mountains, but Grant was a General who never let an enemy escape. Sheridan, with his terrible troopers, rode here and rode there, and wherever Lee turned, there he found those troopers across his path. The end came, and on the 9th of April, 1865, Lee surrendered his army, but before the surrender several sharp contests had to be fought, one of which, Sailor's Creek, rose to the dignity of a battle.

Soon after, on April 26, General Joseph E. Johnston





STATE HOUSE DURING LINCOLN'S FUNERAL.

surrendered his forces to General Sherman. It was intended that this surrender should include all those still in arms against the Government, but some detached troops kept up a show of hostility for some days longer. Indiana was in at the death, some of her troops being in the fight at Sailor's Creek, with Sheridan, and some with Sherman at Averysboro and Bentonville. The last battle of the war was fought at Palmetto Ranch, Texas, and in that an Indiana regiment took part, the last gun of the war being fired by an Indianian. Thus, it will be seen that the loyal sons of Indiana took part in the first battle fought in the Rebellion, not counting the bombardment of Fort Sumter (but even there an Indiana soldier took a leading part), and in the last engagement with the hostile forces. Indiana soldiers took part in three hundred and eight of the battles and engagements of the war. But with the coming of peace not all her soldiers were discharged, for some of the regiments were sent to Texas, to watch Maximillian in Mexico. One, the 128th, was not mustered out of service until January, 1866.

But the war did not end without a tragedy that darkened all the success of our armies. While the country was rejoicing over the fall of Richmond, and the surrender of Lee, President Lincoln was assassinated in Ford's Theater by John Wilkes Booth, April 14. The story of this assassination does not belong to a work of this kind, but the fact that all Indiana went into mourning over that event does. There was not a village or hamlet in the State that did not put on emblems of sorrow, and in most of them business was suspended and funeral services held, the day of his obsequies in Washington. His body, on its way to its final resting place at Springfield, Illinois, passed through Indiana,

and rested one day at the State House at Indianapolis, where many thousands of people went to view the remains of him they had all learned to love and trust.

In telling of the services of her troops in the field does not, by any means, tell all of Indiana's sacrifices in the war, nor all her glorious deeds. The organization and work of the Knights of the Golden Circle, or Sons of Liberty, as they were called at different times, cannot be passed over, in a history of the State, no matter how brief it may be. Perhaps there was not a Northern State which held so many persons who sympathized with the South, as did Indiana. At least two causes existed for this. A large portion of the people of Indiana, at that time, were either directly from the South, or were descendants of those who immigrated from some one of the Southern States. Also, much of the trade of the people had always been with the South, the Ohio River furnishing an outlet for the surplus product of the Indiana farms and factories. This sympathy broke out almost as soon as the war came, but for awhile it was smothered under the tide of patriotism which swept over the State, but as soon as that gave opportunity, the smoldering fires of opposition broke out. When the order of the Sons of Liberty was first instituted in Indiana, is not definitely known, but it is known to have been in existence as early as November, 1861. It was not strong in numbers then, but as the war was prolonged, and the burdens on the people became more oppressive, its membership grew, until early in 1864 it counted forty-five thousand or more members capable of carrying arms.

It is just to say that not every one who became enrolled as a member endorsed the treasonable plans. They had joined it from one motive or another, but when they found

what its real aims were, they ceased attending the meetings or taking any part with it, but they did not expose it. During the years 1862, 1863 and 1864 numerous outrages were perpetrated, in different parts of the State, on the persons or property of men known to be active adherents of the Union. Enrolling and draft officers were assaulted, and in some cases killed. Early in 1864 Governor Morton became fully advised of the existence of the order, its strength and its objects. It had become so bold then as to be in correspondence with Southern commanders, and arranging for invasions of the State. Hitherto it had confined itself to resisting the draft, encouraging desertions and concealing deserters, and committing outrages on Union men, but it had grown strong enough to enter into more active assistance of the South. An invasion of the State was arranged for, when the members of the order were to rise and overthrow the State Government, release the prisoners confined in Camp Morton and then march to Kentucky to take possession of that State.

As has been said, Governor Morton became advised of the existence of the order and its purposes. He had also received information that 30,000 revolvers had been bought and paid for, in New York, to be shipped to this State. They were marked "Sunday-school Books." Thirty-two boxes so marked were found, and contained 400 revolvers, with 135,000 rounds of ammunition. Harrison H. Dodd, of Indianapolis, Horace Heffren, of Salem, Andrew Humphreys, of Greene County, Lamdin P. Milligan, of Huntington, William A. Bowles, of Orange County, Stephen Horsey, of Martin County, and one or two others were arrested and confined in the military prison at Indianapolis. Heffren and one or two others were released without trial; Dodd

escaped from prison and fled to Canada, while his trial was progressing. The others were tried before a military commission appointed by the President. Bowles, Milligan and Horsey were condemned to death, and Humphreys was released on an order to confine himself during the continuance of the war to his own County. The three condemned men received from President Johnson a commutation of their sentence to life imprisonment in the Ohio penitentiary. After the close of the war they applied for a writ of habeas corpus, and after a lengthy hearing, by the Supreme Court of the United States, were released. The arrest of these men, and the rapid successes of the Union armies effectually put a stop to all further direct opposition to the Government, but there was still a strong undercurrent of opposition existing. After the close of the war a number of suits were brought against army officers, who had taken part in the arrest and trial of those charged with opposing the Government, but they all came to naught.

The war had come so suddenly on the Government, and found it so unprepared to clothe and properly care for the large number of men that had been called to the field, that it became necessary for some outside help. The Quartermaster and Commissary Departments, at Washington, in the beginning of the war, were especially crippled. Nearly, if not quite all the loyal States, early took steps to relieve the volunteers from their own States, but none were earlier in the work than Indiana, and none perfected so complete a system, nor carried it out so well as did Indiana.

Early in August, 1861, Governor Morton was informed that the Indiana troops, in the mountains of West Virginia, were without overcoats and were suffering on that account. It was early in the year, but the nights in the

mountains were cold enough to occasion suffering to those not well clad. Governor Morton was then in the East, but he promptly telegraphed to Indianapolis to have the coats forwarded. They were sent, but September came and they had not reached the troops. The Governor put an investigation on foot, and soon discovered that they had been appropriated by other troops. He then found that the Government had no coats, and he went to New York and purchased several thousand. In buying he had to pay a dollar or two more than the price fixed by the Government, and when the claim was presented to the Government payment was refused. The Governor promptly announced that Indiana would settle the bill, as the Indiana troops should not be permitted to suffer. From that time on, whenever it was possible, Indiana troops were well supplied. The Governor was informed that the troops were in need of blankets, socks, and mittens, and in October, 1861, he issued an appeal to the loyal women of the State, asking for contributions. Many thousand dollars' worth of those articles were at once contributed, together with lint, bandages, dressing gowns, sheets and pillows for use in the hospitals. So liberal were the people that the Governor had to notify them that he had all that could be used at that time.

This was the start of that system which afterward was organized and became known as the Sanitary Commission. Indiana was one of the first to see the necessity of some organization to direct the good will of the people, and to see that their gifts were properly utilized. It would need efficient agents to control the distribution, so that the supplies should be placed where needed most, and that none be neglected. Such an organization was perfected, and it served through the war, collecting and distributing, visiting



the hospitals, caring for the sick and wounded, and when possible, furnishing burial to the dead, and taking care of the effects left by them. This permanent organization was effected early in 1862. Agents were appointed for field service, while others collected supplies and others attended to forwarding them to points for distribution. These supplies were not confined altogether to the hospitals, but Indiana regiments were supplied with potatoes, onions and other vegetables, fruits, extra clothing, and in fact everything needed to make them comfortable, and fit them for more arduous service.

Among the duties of the State agents was to furnish transportation home for Indiana soldiers who had been furloughed, and to secure furloughs when possible for those in hospitals, that they might be sent back to the State to be nursed, and thousands were thus sent back. Time and again boats were loaded with vegetables, fruit and hospital supplies, and sent down the Mississippi River to distribute their precious freight wherever Indiana regiments were to be found. So perfectly was this system organized, and so prompt were the agents, that the smoke would hardly clear off from a battlefield before they would be there, looking after wounded Indianians. Auxiliary societies were formed in every County of the State, to assist in the work of preparing these supplies. The supplies covered a wide range, from vegetables and fruits, green and dried, to rice, wine, pickles, cordials, eggs, lemons, bed clothing of all kinds, combs, handkerchiefs, and crutches, and reading matter. In fact, everything that would be of use in the camp or in the hospital, either for comfort, or relieving the weary monotony of the camp and march. For the purpose of aiding in securing these necessary articles Sanitary Fairs were

held in various parts of the State. One, held at Indianapolis during the State Fair, in 1863, netted \$40,000.

From the time of the organization of the association until the close of the war, it collected in cash, \$247,570, and in goods, \$359,000. In addition to this the people of Indiana gave a large sum to the United States Sanitary Commission. This energy and liberality on the part of Indiana attracted widespread attention and universal commendation. Governor Brough, of Ohio, in his message to the Ohio Legislature, in 1864, said, in referring to the efforts of Ohio in the same direction: "While extending our own operations, I have carefully watched those of our sister State of Indiana, and have found that her system merits the strongest commendation." Correspondents at the front frequently referred to Indiana's efforts, in strains like the following, from the New York Tribune, 1862: "In all our armies, from Kansas to the Potomac, wherever I have met Indiana troops, I have encountered some officer of Governor Morton, going about among them inquiring especially as to their needs, both in camp and in hospital, and performing those thousand offices the soldier so often requires. Would that the same tender care could be extended to every man from whatever State, who is fighting the battles of the Republic."

Governor Morton was quick to discern that sick and wounded soldiers would more readily recover, if under the care of loving hands at home than under even the most favorable circumstances in an army hospital, so after the first great battle in the West, that at Fort Donelson, he asked the Secretary of War to send the Indiana sick and wounded to the State, promising to take care of them and return them as soon as able for duty. He finally succeeded in getting the proper order. Before that had been issued, how-

ever, he had sent boats to Fort Donelson to be used as hospital boats. In addition to this Governor Morton appointed agents to visit the Indiana regiments in the field, at times of payment, and collect and convey to their families such amounts as the soldiers desired to remit, all to be done without cost to the soldier. The agents also collected claims of the soldiers against the Government, without cost to the soldier. More than \$300,000 were thus collected. Additional and special surgeons were sent to the front, after every great battle, to assist in caring for the Indiana wounded.

The first great capture of prisoners by the Union armies was made at Fort Donelson, and the Government, was suddenly confronted with the problem of what to do with them. Many of them were sick from long exposure in the trenches before their capture, and humanity demanded some speedy arrangement for their care. Camp Morton, at Indianapolis, was tendered to the Government and accepted, and a large number of the prisoners were sent there. Several hundred prisoners were temporarily cared for at Lafayette, Terre Haute and other places, but all were finally sent to Camp Morton. These prisoners were duly exchanged before the end of 1862, and the camp was not again used until after the Vicksburg campaign. From that time to the end of the war several thousand prisoners were constantly confined there. A number of years after the war an ex-Confederate soldier, through an eastern magazine, made a number of charges of great cruelty and neglect of the prisoners confined at Camp Morton. These charges were eagerly copied by many newspapers, and given a wide circulation. The charges were false, and so evidently inspired by malice that they hardly deserve consideration, but in the future they

may be revived. How the Confederate commanders in those days viewed the treatment of the prisoners at Camp Morton, is illustrated in their conduct toward Colonel Richard Owen, the first commander of Camp Morton after it became a prison. Colonel Owen was captured himself afterward, at Munfordsville. He was at once released without parole, and his side arms returned to him. This is all the answer that need be given to the after-war slanders.

#### SOLDIERS' FAMILIES.

The sudden call for volunteers, and the large numbers called for, took into the field hundreds and thousands who had families depending upon them. The meager wages of the soldiers, even if all could be applied to the uses of their families, would fall far short of meeting their wants, living with the utmost economy. The prices of all products rose rapidly, and it was soon apparent that unless something was done, great suffering would speedily follow in the families of those who had gone out to fight the battles of the country. In the earlier days of the war this help was extended by neighbors, but it was of a spasmodic order, and while some were fed and clothed, others were neglected. In November, 1862, Governor Morton issued an urgent appeal to the people of the State, calling for some systematic effort to relieve those who were in need. It was a patriotic duty for those who were at home to take care of the loved ones of those who were bearing all the hardships, and encountering all the dangers for the whole country. The General Government could not enter upon this work. All it could do was to offer bounties and advance pay, but that would go but a little way toward keeping the families for even a

single year, let alone for three years. Some other plan had to be tried. Counties and cities offered additional bounties, but still there was much to be done. The Counties came to the rescue, and some of them made large appropriations for this purpose, but still the want was greater than the supply offered.

Organizations were perfected, and public contributions taken and fairs held. Thousands of dollars' worth of provisions, fuel and clothing were thus given. The people vied with each other in this noble work, and it was no uncommon thing to see, upon days set apart for the reception of contributions, great wagons, constructed for the purpose, drive in processions into the towns, bringing cords upon cords of wood, barrels of potatoes, and all other vegetables and fruits. One wagon would bear four and even five cords of wood contributed by some patriotic and liberal-minded farmer; another would contain twenty or thirty barrels of flour, or potatoes, or apples. Those were great days, and told better than a thousand books of history of the liberality and patriotism of the people of Indiana. As the war was prolonged and the number to be cared for increased, the State itself took a hand, and through the Legislature levied a tax of thirty cents on each one hundred dollars, which produced \$1,646,090, which was distributed to 203,724 beneficiaries. The following table shows the amount expended by each County for bounties, relief of soldiers' families and for miscellaneous war purposes:

Counties.	Bounties.	Relief.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Adams .....	\$ 64,200	\$ 18,359	\$ 335	\$ 82,894
Allen .....	550,145	74,853	2,000	625,998
Bartholo'w .	308,400	19,947	4,350	332,697
Benton .....	64,510	4,385	141	69,036

Counties.	Bounties.	Relief.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Blackford ..	\$37,140	\$5,098	\$.....	\$42,238
Boone .....	277,885	26,250	.....	304,135
Brown .....	37,675	2,976	.....	40,651
Carroll .....	125,879	53,881	.....	180,450
Cass .....	229,404	82,624	3,379	315,407
Clark .....	94,916	6,776	261	101,954
Clay .....	102,700	12,300	.....	110,000
Clinton .....	281,103	28,904	.....	310,007
Crawford ...	44,200	10,335	.....	54,535
Daviess ....	59,350	2,472	.....	61,822
Dearborn ...	295,305	93,335	7,375	396,016
Decatur ....	203,100	157,268	41,500	401,868
Dekalb .....	130,250	24,481	.....	163,731
Delaware ....	51,137	179,768	.....	231,905
Dubois .....	73,380	5,948	923	80,251
Elkhart ....	192,611	60,420	.....	253,032
Fayette ....	190,764	64,366	9,201	264,331
Floyd .....	124,861	85,780	930	211,571
Fountain ...	240,000	12,000	.....	252,000
Franklin ...	274,206	7,074	5,705	286,985
Fulton .....	117,767	8,856	.....	126,623
Gibson .....	104,014	31,035	.....	135,049
Grant .....	151,901	31,546	.....	183,447
Greene .....	.....	15,070	.....	15,070
Hamilton ...	245,000	111,625	.....	356,625
Hancock ...	251,798	67,882	.....	319,680
Harrison ...	73,200	20,000	.....	93,200
Hendricks ..	266,250	60,200	.....	326,450
Henry .....	386,661	82,178	.....	468,839
Howard ....	201,365	36,120	.....	237,485
Huntington .	153,610	36,611	.....	190,221
Jackson ....	61,094	106,035	.....	167,129
Jasper .....	21,978	6,141	.....	28,119
Jay .....	23,000	53,085	.....	76,085
Jefferson ...	265,790	43,468	9,000	318,258

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Counties.	Bounties.	Relief.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Jennings ...	\$126,615	\$27,120	\$13,000	\$166,735
Johnson ....	220,000	15,000	.....	235,000
Knox .....	137,410	15,335	563	153,309
Kosciusko ..	98,017	29,562	500	128,139
Lagrange ...	163,000	50,061	.....	213,061
Lake .....	63,374	10,956	876	74,206
Laporte ....	257,315	167,606	6,332	431,254
Lawrence ..	92,701	14,565	.....	107,266
Madison ....	344,898	10,042	.....	354,940
Marion .....	1,223,720	439,199	14,279	1,677,199
Marshall ...	35,324	28,799	464	64,588
Martin .....	12,400	15,001	.....	27,401
Miami .....	281,650	44,890	4,800	331,340
Monroe .....	132,975	15,000	17,000	167,475
Montgom'y .	545,145	81,561	1,500	537,206
Morgan ....	194,475	82,908	1,150	278,533
Newton ....	37,800	3,288	800	41,888
Noble .....	115,872	48,578	.....	164,450
Ohio .....	68,575	5,158	499	74,233
Orange .....	29,936	7,376	31	37,343
Owen .....	49,548	12,214	.....	61,762
Parke .....	154,666	80,304	.....	234,970
Perry .....	24,560	14,471	1,200	40,312
Pike .....	35,899	28,863	.....	64,762
Porter .....	65,277	54,606	.....	119,833
Posey .....	203,202	34,384	5,178	242,766
Pulaski ....	29,524	865	.....	30,289
Putnam ....	441,107	28,260	.....	469,367
Randolph ..	115,705	94,447	.....	210,152
Ripley .....	146,286	23,301	.....	169,587
Rush .....	233,812	33,099	600	257,511
Scott .....	65,397	13,112	.....	78,510
Shelby .....	121,840	59,049	.....	180,889
Spencer ....	96,851	23,015	4,843	124,710
Starke .....	1,378	1,341	.....	2,719

Counties.	Bounties.	Relief.	Miscel- laneous.	Total.
St. Joseph..	\$148,503	\$56,397	\$.....	\$204,900
Steuben ....	74,366	24,571	.....	98,937
Sullivan ....	166,750	33,408	.....	200,158
Switzerland	147,386	12,553	1,150	161,089
Tippecanoe .	535,850	349,965	12,621	894,436
Tipton .....	125,000	17,735	.....	142,735
Union .....	138,118	24,205	5,000	167,323
Vanderburg	171,165	88,600	.....	259,765
Vermillion ..	76,032	41,839	986	119,457
Vigo .....	316,039	136,134	.....	452,203
Wabash ....	179,100	101,506	16,058	296,664
Warren ....	121,986	46,452	.....	168,439
Warrick ...	127,550	19,900	3,500	150,950
Washington	170,000	31,500	.....	201,500
Wayne .....	379,093	184,350	.....	563,443
Wells .....	126,650	11,424	.....	138,074
White .....	95,886	5,364	.....	101,250
Whitley ....	143,637	16,646	.....	159,683
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G'd Total.	\$15,492,876	\$4,566,898	\$198,866	\$20,258,640

It will be seen that the people of Indiana gave a vast sum to the war. Summarized it stands:

Paid by counties, townships, cities and towns, for the relief of soldiers' families.....	\$ 4,566,898
Paid for bounties.....	15,492,876
For miscellaneous military purposes.....	,198,966
State appropriation for relief of families.....	1,646,809
Contributed to Sanitary Commission.....	606,570
Paid by State and charged to United States.....	4,373,593
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Total amount expended.....	\$26,885,612



This does not include the amount paid by the State for maintaining the Indiana Legion. The number of troops furnished during the war was as follows:

Infantry .....	175,776
Cavalry .....	21,605
Artillery .....	10,986
Indiana Legion.....	51,400
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Total .....	259,767

For the various terms of service the following numbers were furnished:

For the term of three years.....	165,717
For the term of one year.....	21,642
For the term of nine months.....	742
For the term of six months.....	4,082
For the term of one hundred days.	7,415
For the term of three months.....	6,308
For the term of sixty days.....	587
For the term of thirty days.....	1,874
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Grand total.....	208,367

As the various regiments returned to the State, after the close of the war, they were met with every mark of honor by the people and the State authorities. It was determined that the flags which had been carried with so much honor by the various regiments, should be formally presented to the State, to be carefully preserved. The day chosen for this solemn ceremony was July 4, 1866. It was made a grand gala day, by the people and the veterans. It was arranged that the presentation should take place in the capital grounds at Indianapolis, and that as many of the veterans as possible should take part. The streets and buildings, especially

those in the business part of the city, were profusely decorated, and great crowds from every part of the State came to witness the scene. Nearly all the regiments that had marched to the field were represented in the grand pageant, and they carried their stained and tattered banners, as they proudly marched through the streets to the inspiring strains of numberless bands. All along the line of march the veterans were greeted with cheers by thousands of people, and at the State House grounds were received by thousands more. There the flags were formally presented to Governor Morton by Major General Lew Wallace, the orator chosen for the occasion, and were received by the Governor on behalf of the State. In the course of his response to the address of General Wallace, Governor Morton said:

“State after State assumed to secede from the Union, and uniting in a confederacy, haughtily announced to an astonished world that a new government was framed, having for its chief corner stone the institution of human slavery.

“Armies were organized. Forts, dock yards, ships and arsenals were seized, and at last the flag of the nation was fired upon, and thus began the great civil war, from which, thanks be to your unequalled valor, under the providence of Almighty God, the nation has emerged in triumph.

“The issues submitted to the trial of battle were of the most vital and momentous character. Not merely the perpetuation of our glorious Union, not merely the perpetuation and rightfulness of slavery, but the existence of republican institutions throughout the world, and, forever settling the question of man's capacity for his own government. The hopes of the monarchies and aristocracies everywhere, were with our enemies; but the hearts of the down trodden millions throughout the world, who look to America as the

asylum for the oppressed, and the haven of liberty, beat high for us, and their prayers continually ascended to the throne of heaven in our behalf.

"The struggle was long and bloody, and victory for a time seemed to perch upon rebel standards, and the final result, to the faint of heart, appeared doubtful; but at length the mighty North, fully aroused to the magnitude of the conflict, gathered to the work, and her trained armies, inspired by a holy cause, everywhere moved upon the enemy with a fiery but enduring valor that finds no equal in the annals of war, and before which their ranks gave way, their colors went down, and their boastful cohorts were swept from the field. And with the rebellion, passed away its principal cause, the institution of slavery. And there is not now a slave standing upon the soil over which waves the flag of the United States. The prophetic dream of our fathers has been realized, but not until more than three-quarters of a century had elapsed, nor until the nation had passed through a sea of blood and suffering which did not appear in their vision.

"Peace again smiles upon the land. You have laid aside your arms and have resumed the character of the peaceful and quiet citizen, but your duties are not all performed. The great question now confronts you and must be answered, whether these precious flags are to be the emblems only of barren victories? Whether the heroes in war shall become mere children in peace? And whether they shall tamely and blindly surrender at the ballot box the great prize, the very prize, which they conquered upon the field? Or whether, on the other hand, they have not, by their dread experience, learned lessons of wisdom through which they and their posterity may be fortified against the evil passions

of the vanquished, and the recurrence of like calamities from which they have escaped?

"While we mourn the gallant dead; while we mourn with their widows, their orphans, their broken hearted parents; while we mourn the suffering and sorrow, that this unholy rebellion spread over the land, and carried to so many hearts and hearthstones, we at the same time rejoice and thank Almighty God that the nation has been preserved, and that its soil is no longer polluted by the footsteps of a slave; that such boundless prospects of individual prosperity and national power are spread out before us, if we are true to the victory; and it is a cause for special rejoicing and congratulations that the soldiers of Indiana have borne such a glorious part in the achievement of these mighty results. They have established a character for valor which may be equaled but not excelled, by soldiers of any other State or country, and which shines with undimmed lustre when compared with that of the most warlike nations in history.

"The soldiers of Indiana, hitherto engaged in the peaceful pursuits of trade and agriculture, have manifested that lofty, high-toned courage and chivalry of which others have talked so much and possessed so little, and which belongs only to the intelligent patriot, who understands well the sacred cause in which he draws his sword. Thousands have fallen the victims of this unnatural rebellion. They were fighting from deep conviction of duty, and the love they bore their country. Nor should we forget those who have perished by disease in the camp or hospital. They were denied the soldier's privilege of dying in battle, but their sacrifice was none the less. To die in the field, amid the clash of contending armies and the roar of battle, fighting in a holy

cause, is glorious; but when death comes slowly on in the loneliness and desolation of the hospital, with no mother or sister present to soothe the passing spirit and minister as love can only minister; with none but the rough hand of a comrade to press the clammy brow, and perform the last office to the dying, is terrible.

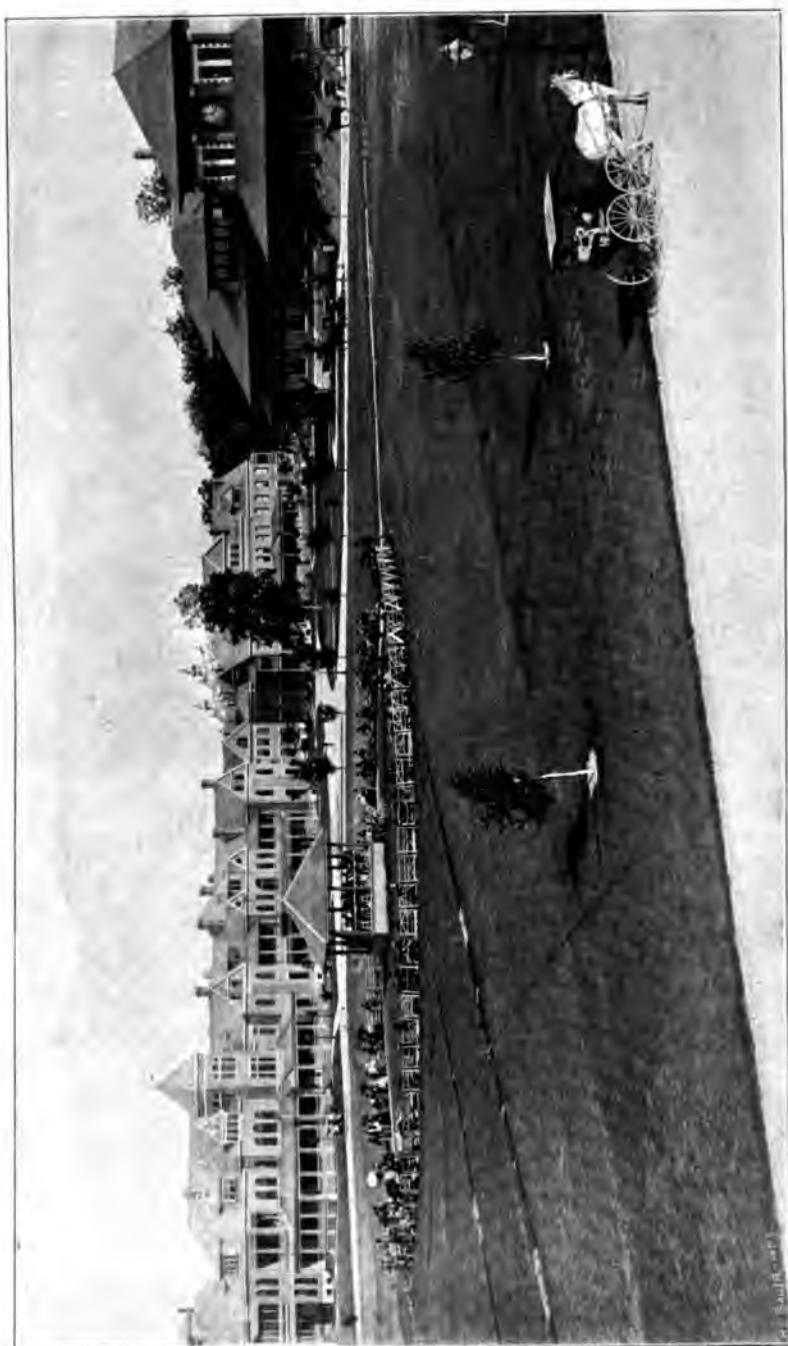
"You have heard from the distinguished soldier who preceded me of the vast number of troops Indiana has furnished to suppress the rebellion. Together they constitute a mighty army, the creation of which was wonderful, when we consider the great difficulties by which we were encompassed at home; and it is to-day the occasion of the proudest congratulation, that not a regiment, not a battery, came home with a stain upon its banner.

"These frayed and tattered flags have been torn by shot and shell, stained with the blood of those who bore them, and beaten upon by the storms, but have never trailed in the dust or went back upon the field.

"Soldiers, let me unite with Major General Wallace, in the hope that you will come together on this holy day in every year to look upon these sacred banners, and to renew in sweet converse, the associations of the march. the bivouac, and the field. Your numbers will grow smaller from year to year, your step less firm and your eyes less bright, but the wreaths which bind your victorious brows will become greener and more glorious as you pass down the declivity of time, through paths strewn with flowers by your grateful countrymen, to sink gently into honorable graves."

The festivities of the occasion did not end with the presentation of the flags, but at night there was a grand display of fireworks, witnessed by immense throngs. The flags presented on this occasion are yet carefully preserved in the





NATIONAL SOLDIERS' HOME AT MARION.

State Capitol, together with many relics and mementoes gathered from the battle field, including quite a number of Confederate flags captured by Indiana troops, during the war.

In 1890 Congress passed an act to establish a branch of the National Soldiers' Home, at Marion, in Grant County. At that time the Government was maintaining Homes for veterans at Dayton, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Togus, Maine; Elizabeth City, Virginia; Leavenworth, Kansas, and Los Angeles, California. The years were adding rapidly to the number of those who needed the care of the Government, to make their declining years comfortable and peaceful, and mainly through the efforts of Major George W. Steele, member of Congress from the Marion district, it was determined to build a new home at Marion. A beautiful rolling tract of land covering about two hundred and thirty acres, was selected about two and a half miles southeast of the city of Marion. It is bordered on the east and south by the Mississinnewa River. The Mississinnewa is a beautiful stream of water, and where it flows along the land of the Home is fringed on either side by trees of magnificent foliage. About sixty acres of the Home grounds are covered by large forest trees. In these woods hundreds of rustic chairs and settees are scattered for the convenience of the veterans. Broad and well kept roads and avenues sweep everywhere through the grounds. Cement walks traverse the grounds from one building to another. Outside of the wooded portions of the grounds hundreds of young maple, linden, elm, and cedar trees have been set out, while beds of flowers appear everywhere during the summer months, making a park of wondrous beauty.

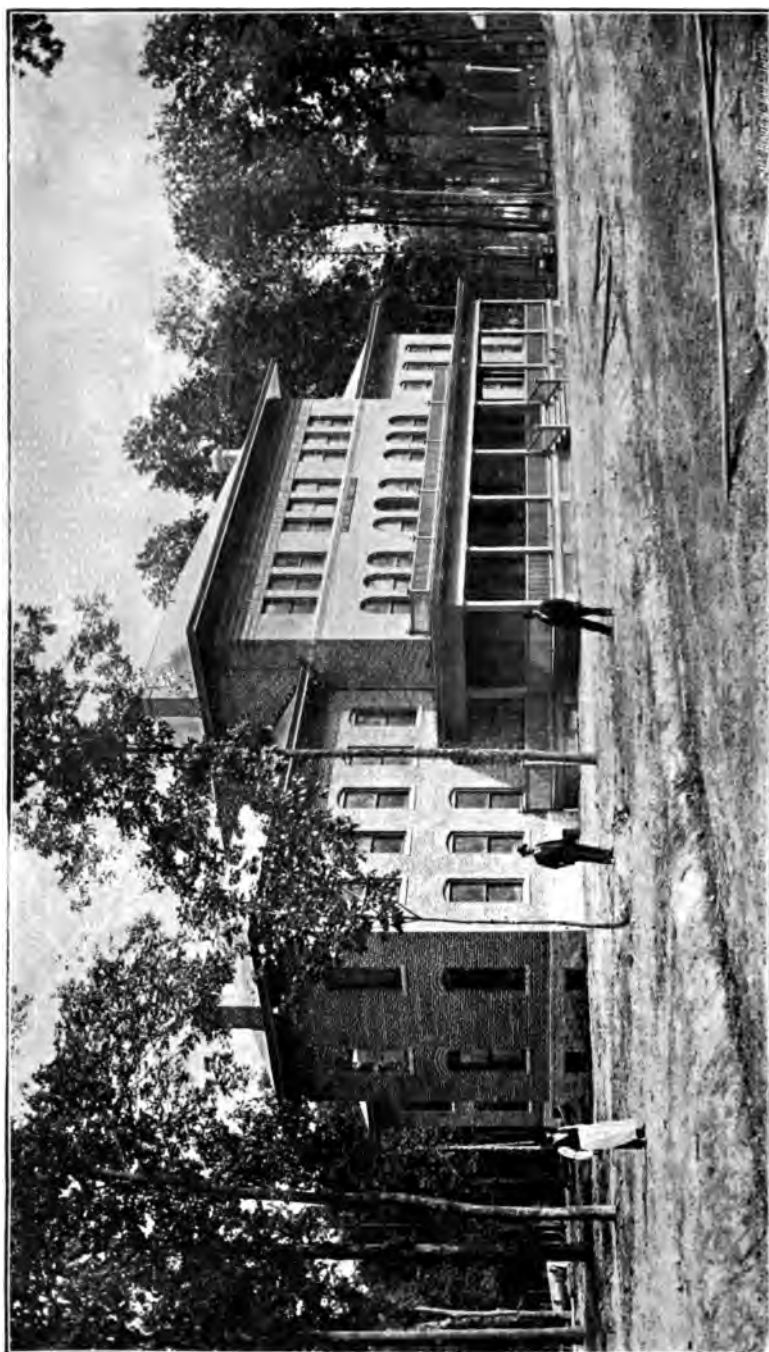
The buildings number twenty-two, fifteen of which are



of brick and seven frame. The total cost to the Government for the buildings was about \$232,000. The site of the buildings is a commanding one, being readily seen from a large scope of territory on either side of the river. On the left of "Steele Circle," entering by the main avenue, is the residence of the treasurer and surgeon, a double house of modern design. A little further on is the Governor's residence, a large house built after the colonial style. Facing west on the circle are the buildings of the hospital, consisting of the administration building, the north and south wings, and in the rear of the administration building, the dining room and kitchen. To the right of the main avenue, and about two-fifths the way around the circle, are the two rows of barracks, three in each row. The barracks are two story buildings of brick, trimmed with stone and roofed with slate. The buildings are one hundred and seventy-eight feet in length, with a central portion fifty-two feet wide, and the wings twenty-seven feet wide. Broad verandas extend around either end and across the front of each building. Each barrack contains four wards, intended to quarter twenty-five men each, but twice as many are quartered there, owing to the great demand on the Home.

The water for the Home is obtained from seven driven wells, and is pure and abundant. The heat is supplied from natural gas wells on the grounds. A library containing about two thousand volumes is located in a handsome and commodious room. A store is maintained at which is kept everything that may be needed by the inmates. The profits from this store go to the Post Fund, and are used for the benefit of the members, by keeping up the Home band, supplying reading matter for the library and amusements. It is said to be the model Home of the country. About fifteen





OLD MEN'S RESIDENCE, STATE SOLDIERS' HOME—LAFAYETTE.

hundred veterans are cared for in this model institution, and live amid scenes of great natural beauty, enriched by art.

The National Home, and all the branches are crowded to their utmost capacity, and many old soldiers who were really in need of a home objected, from various causes, to being cared for in those maintained by the general Government. The question of erecting a State Home was agitated, and the Grand Army of the Republic took the matter up and accumulated between five thousand and six thousand dollars, and obtained about two hundred and fifty acres of ground, in Tippecanoe County, near the city of Lafayette. The Legislature of 1895 enacted a law establishing a Home on the land in Tippecanoe County. By the terms of this act the Grand Army of the Republic conveyed to the State its title to the land in question, and also turned over the funds it had collected. Seventy-five thousand dollars were appropriated for the erection of buildings, and authority was given to the various Counties of the State to erect cottages on the grounds at their own expense.

The Home is managed by a Board of Trustees appointed by the Governor, who serve for a term of three years. The members of this Board, together with all the officers of the institution must be taken from among the honorably discharged soldiers or sailors of the Union. The Trustees elect a Commandant and an Adjutant, who have charge of the Home. Those entitled to admittance in the Home are thus designated by the law:

“All honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines, who have served the United States in any of its wars, and who have been residents and citizens of the State of Indiana for one year immediately preceding, and who are at the

time of the date of the application for admission to the Home, who may be disabled or destitute, also the wives of such disabled and destitute soldiers, sailors or marines, and destitute widows over forty-five years of age, of soldiers, sailors, or marines of the United States, who have been citizens and residents of the State of Indiana, for one year immediately preceding, and who are at the time of the date of the application for admission to the Home, may be admitted to the said Soldiers' Home under such rules and regulations as may be adopted by said Board of Trustees: Provided, That preference may be given to persons who served in Indiana military organizations: Provided further, That the words disabled or destitute shall be construed to mean persons without means of support, or physically disqualified to perform manual labor to the extent of earning a livelihood or persons depending upon charity: Provided, That the benefits of this act shall extend only to widows and wives of soldiers where the contract of marriage was entered into before the passage of this act."

Under this act the State has erected proper buildings, and several Counties have availed themselves of the privilege conveyed and built handsome cottages. For the maintenance of the Home the State allows \$10.50 per month for every inmate. The State reserves the right, when the time comes that the buildings and grounds shall be no longer needed for the purpose of a home for soldiers, to use them for any purpose whatsoever, as the Legislature may determine. Thus it is that the general Government and the State cares for those who have fought in its service. A great majority of those who fought for the Union were taken from the fields and workshops of the country, and as they were dependent upon the labor of their hands for maintenance before the





DINING HALL AND WIDOWS' RESIDENCE, STATE SOLDIERS' HOME—LAFAYETTE.

war, they were equally so dependent when they laid down their arms, and but few of them have been able to lay by a sufficiency to make their last years comfortable, when age and infirmities have taken away from them the capacity to labor. These Homes are not charitable institutions, but are only incidents in the discharge of a great debt.

No more appropriate spot in Indiana could have been found for the site of such a Home. The grounds cover two hundred and forty-two acres, nearly all of which is densely wooded. The citizens of Tippecanoe County gave one hundred and eighty-seven acres, and the city of Lafayette fifty-five acres. The land has a frontage of about two thousand feet on the Wabash River, and lies about three and a half miles from the historic battle ground of Tippecanoe. From the river the bluff rises abruptly about seventy-five feet. On the top of the bluff is a level plateau, and then the land rises with a gentle slope to the upper plateau, about two hundred feet above the river. From this plateau, a most magnificent view of the adjacent country is had. To the south, stretching out for many miles, are the Wea Plains, celebrated for their rural beauty and productiveness. This site is almost in the center of the old Indian villages which were historic from the days when the French voyager first plied his canoe on the Wabash, until their final destruction in the early years of this century. Through the grounds, from east to west runs the old Indian trail leading from Prophets-town to the villages on the Wea. It is as distinct to-day, in many places, as it was a hundred years ago.

On the river front are a number of springs of excellent medicinal waters, adding by their virtues to the healthfulness of the place. A number of broad highways or streets have been opened up through the grounds, turning the



whole into a beautiful park. The principal building is known as the "Old People's Home." It is used by old soldiers and their wives. This building has a front of one hundred and eight feet on the north, and one hundred and twelve feet on the east, and contains forty-five rooms. The tower rises to a height of one hundred and forty-eight feet, and from it can be seen the city of Lafayette, Delphi, the Tippecanoe battle ground and the Wabash River for many miles. It is provided with all the modern conveniences for comfort and health. The "Old Men's Home," has a south front of one hundred and twenty-two feet, and an east front of seventy-two feet. It is designed for single men, and is divided into nine large wards, each containing ten beds, and six small wards, reading room, smoking room, music room, and quarters for the commanding officer. It is of brick and two stories high, with broad verandas extending across the entire front. The dining hall and widow's home is another spacious building. Table seats for three hundred and fifty are provided in the dining room. In addition to these there are buildings for the Quartermaster and Commissary departments. The hospital is large and well equipped for the care and treatment of the sick.

Immediately on the close of the war, Governor Morton urged that steps be taken to establish a home where disabled soldiers might be properly cared for. A temporary home was established in Indianapolis, and an appeal was issued to the people of the State asking for aid in making a permanent home. By urgent appeals sufficient money was obtained to purchase a piece of ground near Knightstown, in Henry County, and a home was established. Through the efforts of Governor Morton the Legislature, in 1867, adopted this home on the part of the State and appro-





HOME FOR SOLDIERS' ORPHANS, KNIGHTSTOWN.

priated \$50,000 for the erection of buildings. It was used for awhile as a home for disabled soldiers, but is now devoted wholly to the care and education of the orphan children of Indiana soldiers and sailors. The Home now has eight buildings for general purposes and six cottages for boys. The industrial building is one hundred by seventy-eight feet, and two stories high.

### MONUMENTS.

The war had hardly ended before the people began to discuss ways and methods by which they could put into permanent commemoration the gallant deeds, remarkable endurance, heroic services and great sacrifices made by the citizen soldiery. In fact while the soldiers were still in the field many of them discussed the idea of erecting at home some kind of a monument in memory of their dead comrades. As early as 1863 the 58th regiment which had been organized at Princeton, Gibson County, determined to erect at Princeton a monument in memory of the members of the regiment who had given their lives to the cause of the Union. A local committee was appointed to select a design and to superintend the erection of the monument. The money to defray the expense was contributed by the officers and men of the regiment. The contract for the erection of the monument was let in the latter part of 1863, and its construction was completed the following year. So far this is the only monument in the State erected solely by the soldiers themselves, and it has the proud pre-eminence of being the first in the State erected to commemorate the part Indiana took in the War of the Rebellion. The monument is an elegant marble shaft thirty-three feet high. On the north face are crossed swords entwined by a flag and wreath. On the

east face is a small shield resting on bunches of oak leaves and myrtle. Underneath is a large wreath encircling the words: "Erected by the survivors of the Fifty-Eighth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, to the memory of their deceased

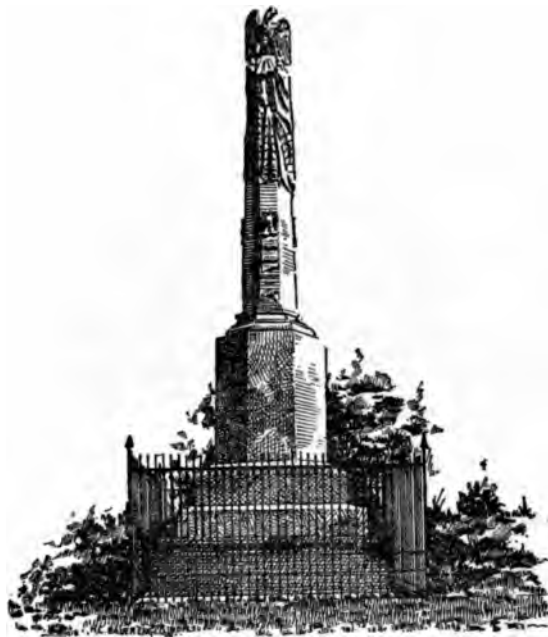


MONUMENT OF 58TH INDIANA,  
AT PRINCETON.

comrades." On the south face is a knapsack supporting crossed muskets and flags, and a soldier's cap. On the west, is the coat of arms of the State of Indiana. On the several sides of the base are the following inscriptions: "Stone River," "Lavergne," "Mission Ridge," "Chickamauga," and "Honor the Flag." The names of all the members of the

regiment known to be dead at the date of the erection of the monument are inscribed on its several faces. The shaft is surmounted by an American eagle holding the United States flag in its beak. The Eagle is made of the finest of Italian marble.

In 1865 the Legislature passed an act authorizing County



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT NOBLESVILLE.

Commissioners to appropriate money for the erection of monuments. Several Counties have availed themselves of this privilege. On the highest and most conspicuous spot in the cemetery at Noblesville stands a monument dedicated on the 4th of July 1868. It is an octagonal shaft twenty-two and a half feet high, each side measuring eight feet in width. The shaft rests on a triple base, the sections of which are eight, six, and four feet square respectively. A perched

eagle surmounts the shaft, and on each of the four sides, corresponding to the principal points of the compass and six feet from the top, is a spread eagle holding a scroll. On the first of the scrolls is inscribed a memorial to the Hamilton County soldiers, and on the remaining three are the names of all field and staff officers who entered the service from that County. On the eight sides of the shaft, and on the four sides of each of the two uppermost sections of the base, are the names and rank of all the line officers and enlisted men, living and dead, arranged in their respective organizations, commencing with the oldest. The National flag enfolds the top of the shaft, beautifully sculptured above the spread eagle.

The organizations mentioned on the monument embrace twenty-two company organizations, representing fourteen regiments, besides more than two hundred soldiers who were citizens of the County, but who joined organizations not formed in the County.

In 1865 the "Putnam County Soldiers' Monument Association" was organized. The object of the association was to erect at Greencastle a monument to the memory of the soldiers of Putnam County, who lost their lives in the War of the Rebellion. The necessary funds, about \$7,000, were raised entirely by private subscription. The site selected is the crowning eminence of Forest Hill Cemetery, and overlooks the city of Greencastle and a large scope of surrounding country. The monument was dedicated on the 2d of July, 1870. The base of the monument is octagonal, about four and one-half feet high. The pedestal proper is six and one-quarter feet high, and about eight feet in diameter. Upon the pedestal are engraved the names of three hundred and twenty soldiers who gave their lives for the Union. The height of the monument to the crowning fig-

ure is twelve feet. The crowning figure is of stone and represents a soldier with his gun between his knees, while he apparently is taking a view of the surrounding country.



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT GREENCASTLE.

This figure is nine feet high making the entire monument twenty-one feet high.

Close to the main entrance of Lake Front Park, Michigan City, stands a beautiful granite shaft. It at once attracts the eye of the visitor, and claims his attention for its artistic beauty. It rests on four granite bases the first being sixteen feet square, and the fourth eight feet four inches. This upper base is a truncated pyramid and bears a bronze tablet with this inscription: "In Memory of the Soldiers of the Civil War, who Gave their Services to Perpetuate the Union of the States." From this rises the beautiful cylindrical shaft. The shaft is surmounted by a carved cap,



about three feet nine inches in diameter. On this rests a half globe in bronze, encircled by bronze fasces. Standing on the top of this half globe is a beautiful draped female figure, in bronze, representing "Victorious Peace." This figure is



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT MICHIGAN CITY.

ten feet high, making the whole monument rise to the height of sixty-two feet.

Around the base of the cylindrical shaft is a bronze cylinder three feet high, bearing, and extending entirely around it, a series of designs illustrative of the uprising of the people at the outbreak of the war. Above this bronze drum are the shields of the United States and of Indiana,

and above them a stand of arms, all in bronze. On the granite die above the drum, in raised and polished letters, is the following inscription: "Dulce et decorum pro patria mori." This beautiful monument cost \$15,000 and was the gift of Hon. John H. Winterbotham.



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT LOGANSPORT.

In 1887 Cass County unveiled, in the cemetery at Logansport a beautiful monument in honor of the patriotic soldiers of that County. It is a round shaft, eighty-five feet high, surmounted by a color bearer eleven feet high. The whole monument is constructed of Indiana limestone. The diameter of the base is thirty feet, and that of the shaft five feet.

On the corners of the base are figures representing the four arms of the service, six feet two inches high. On the shaft are inscribed the names of about fifteen hundred soldiers who went out from Cass County to battle for the Union. This monument stands on a commanding eminence in the cemetery, and overlooks the city and the surrounding country.



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT MISHAWAKA.

The only public monument in St. Joseph County, is in Battell Park, Mishawaka, and is dedicated to the soldiers and sailors of Penn Township, St. Joseph County, who fought in the late war. It is a handsomely ornamented

metal shaft of white bronze, thirty-two feet high. The shaft is surmounted by a figure of a Union soldier in full uniform, standing at "parade rest." The statute is eight feet high. The shaft rests on a base ten feet square. The monument is ornamented with medallions of Lincoln, Grant, Farragut and Garfield, and bears the battle names of Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chickamauga and Mobile. There is also a G. A. R. badge, with other army insignia. The monument stands in a conspicuous position near the high bluff of the St. Joseph River, in the north part of the city. It was dedicated at a reunion of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Association of Northern Indiana, September 18, 1884.

In 1889 there was unveiled, in the city of Elkhart one of the beautiful monuments erected in Indiana to the memory of the soldiers. It was the gift of Mr. Silas Baldwin. It is of oolitic limestone, and stands thirty-two feet high. The base is nine feet four inches square, and has, in carved, raised letters, "Shiloh," "Stone River," "Atlanta," and "Appomattox." The lower die has a carved cannon at each corner, and on the panels are inscribed:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphan.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

"God reigns, and the Government at Washington still lives.

JAMES A. GARFIELD."

"Let us Have Peace.

Soldiers of the United States, your marches, sieges and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dim the luster of the world's past military achievements.

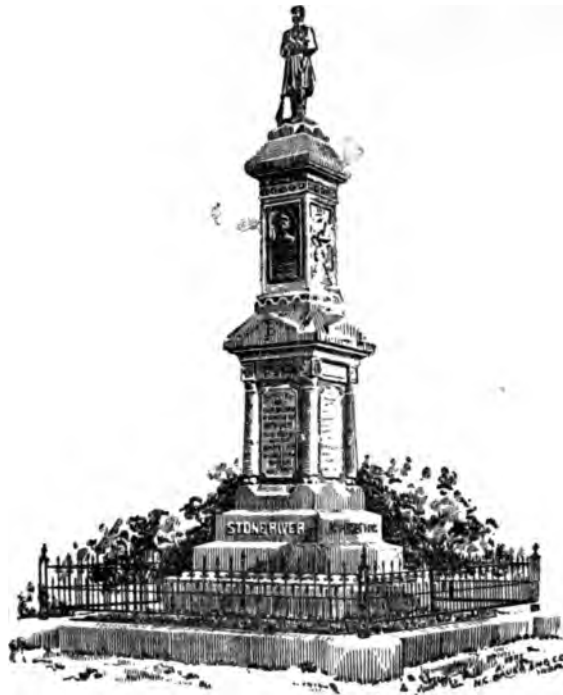
ULYSSES S. GRANT."

**"We are many States, but one people, having one Government, one flag, and one common destiny.**

**OLIVER P. MORTON."**

**"The American citizen soldier, brave in war, eminent as a statesman, admirable as a citizen.**

**JOHN A. LOGAN."**

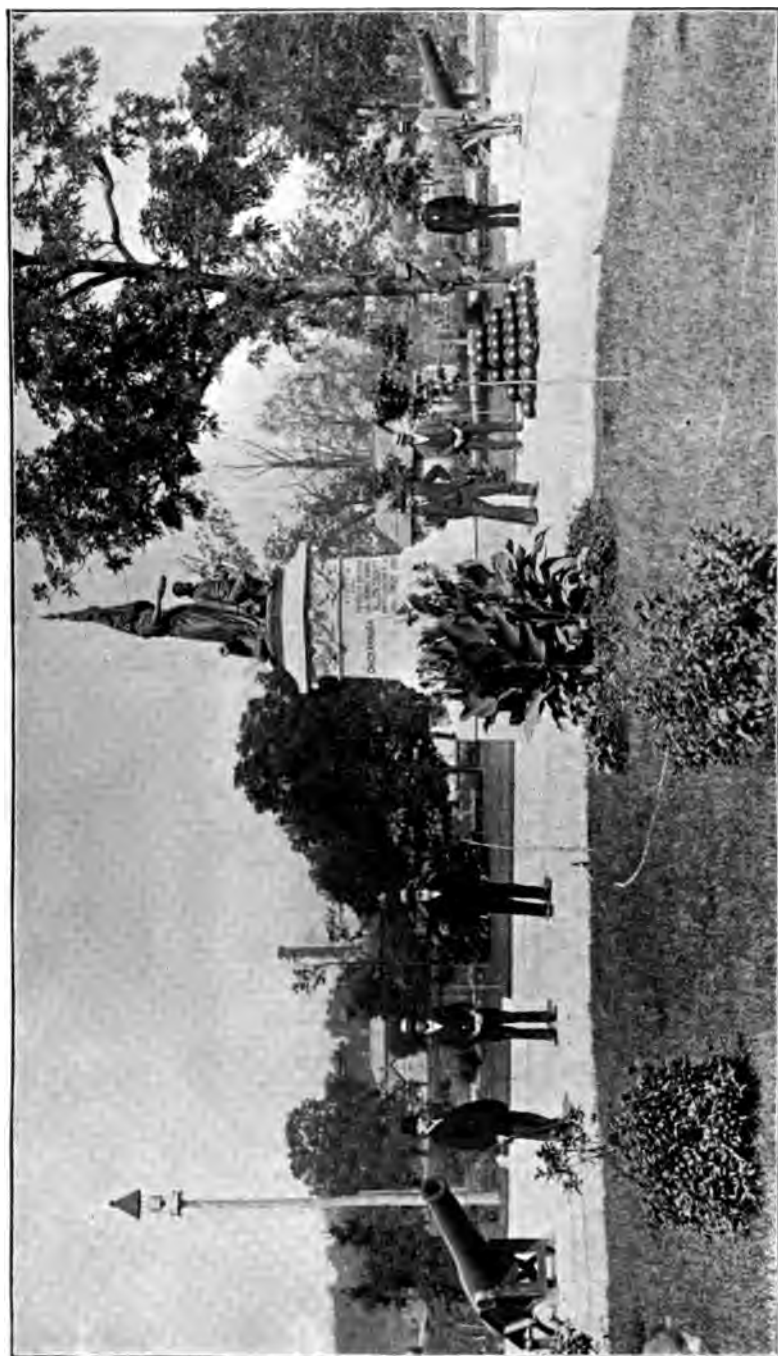


**SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT ELKHART.**

The face of the monument is inscribed: "Erected 1889 by Silas Baldwin, In honor of the Heroes who Fought, and the Martyrs who Fell in the War of 1861 to 1865."

Three panels of the upper die are engraved to represent the Grand Army, Navy and Cavalry. The fourth panel has a copper medallion of Lieutenant Frank Baldwin, who fell in the battle of Stone River, December 31, 1862, at the age of





SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT FORT WAYNE.

eighteen years. The stone work is surmounted by a copper bronze life-size figure of an infantry soldier at parade rest.

Fort Wayne is historic ground. It is one of the three points settled by the French, in the State. It was the center of the great Miami confederacy, and the home of Little Turtle, the greatest of Indian warriors, and there he lies buried. It was the site of the defeat of General Harmar's expedition before the beginning of the present century, and it was there Mad Anthony Wayne erected his fort after he had broken the power of the Indians. For the Union armies during the war of the rebellion, Allen County furnished nearly four thousand soldiers. To commemorate the deeds of those soldiers some of the patriotic citizens erected in Kekionga Park a beautiful monument, and unveiled it October 8, 1894, on the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Fort Wayne. Surmounting the monument is a bronze figure representing peace crowning the victorious soldier.

Fronting the Court House, in Jasper, the capital of Dubois County, is a monument unique in its design and construction, and, taken altogether, one of the most attractive in the State. It was erected by the Dubois County Monumental Association, and was unveiled in 1894. It is constructed of Bedford and Green River limestone, Georgia marble and bronze. It is eleven feet square at the base and thirty-two feet high. It is surmounted by a bronze figure of a soldier at parade rest. It contains a receptacle for war relics. It has three bronze tablets. One represents a father who has been wounded in a charge; his arm rests on the shoulder of his son who also has been wounded. The son is kneeling by his dying father. It represents an actual occurrence at the battle of Champion Hills. At the right hand upper corner is the following stanza:



" Yield not to grief the tribute of a tear,  
But 'neath the fore-front of a spacious sky,  
Smile all exultant, as they smiled at fear,  
Who dared to do where doing meant to die ;  
So best may comrades prove remembrance dear,  
So best be hallowed earth where soldiers lie."



DUBOIS COUNTY SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

At the left hand of the same tablet is a stack of arms, bayonets, drum, canteen, knapsack, bugle, etc.

On the door is the figure of a soldier doing picket duty, and the words: "For Country and Flag; Our Army and Navy."

The second tablet represents a soldier as a sharp shooter. Far above the soldier's head, on one of the rocks, is carved "Antietam."

Below, in gold is the following:

"Cover the thousands who sleep far away—  
Sleep where their friends cannot find them to-day.  
They who in mountain, and hillside and dell,  
Rest where they wearied, and lie where they fell."

The third tablet is one of beauty and sadness. It represents a widow looking over a battle field, long after the contest has ended. There is a broken wheel, an unfired cannon, part of a saber, rusting bayonets, and other relics of the strife. A bird has built its nest in the mouth of the cannon. Above this tablet is the word "Gettysburg." Below the tablet, in gold, is the following:

"Soldier, Rest! Thy warfare o'er,  
Sleep the sleep that knows no breaking,  
Dream of battle fields no more,  
Days of danger, nights of waking."

Above the tablets are four cannon of black marble. Over the door is inscribed, "Vicksburg," and over the first tablet, "Chickamauga."

James Moorman, a loyal Quaker of Randolph County, left in his will a bequest of \$2,000 to erect a monument in memory of the soldiers of that County. To this the County Commissioners added \$25,000. It is a shaft rising from a base constructed like a bastion fort, with the cannon pointing from the port holes. The base is twenty-eight feet square. The whole height of the monument, to the top of the flag surmounting it, is sixty-seven feet. The bronze color bearer is ten feet high. At the four corners of the base are bronze figures representing the infantry, cavalry,

artillery and marine branches of the service. The north front is inscribed as follows:

“ On Fame's eternal camping ground  
Their silent tents are spread,  
And glory guards with solemn round  
The bivouac of the dead.”



RANDOLPH COUNTY SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

On the west front:

“ In the God of battle trust;  
Die we may—and die we must;  
But where can dust to dust be consigned so well  
As where heaven its dews shall shed,  
On the martyred patriot's bed.  
And rocks shall raise their heads his deeds to tell.”





'I' SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL HALL, VALPARAISO.

On the south front:

“And the same hand that gave them birth  
Has caught them to her breast;  
And will pray from their clay,  
Full many a rose may start,  
Of true men to act as brave a part.”

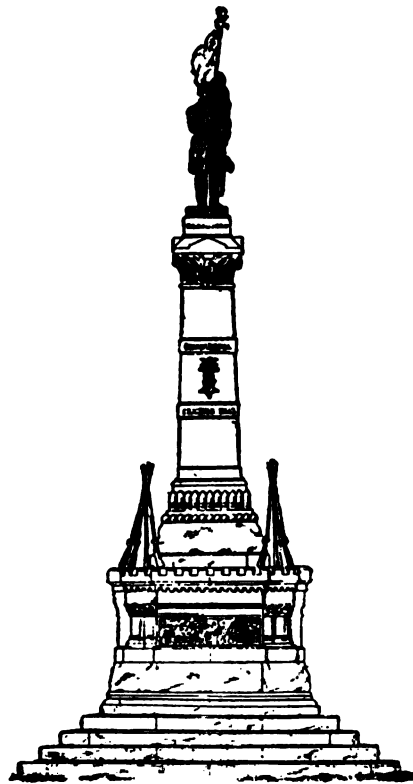
On the east front is inscribed the bequest of Mr. Moorman and the names of the County Commissioners who voted the appropriation.

At Valparaiso, Porter County, it was determined to build a Memorial Hall, instead of a monument. The County gave the site, which is in the business center of the city. The entire cost of the building was \$12,000. The auditorium is fitted up with all the improved modern opera house appliances, and seats eight hundred people. The hall is on the ground floor. In the second story of the front the Post has its room for its meetings. The building is of red brick with stone trimmings.

The erection of the monument in Carroll County was the outgrowth of a soldiers' reunion held at Flora in the summer of 1886. Attention was called to the fact that the Legislature had passed a law empowering County Commissioners to make a special levy for building soldiers' monuments on the petition of a majority of the voters in any County. A committee was appointed to take charge of the matter and sub-committees were sent into each township, circulating petitions. In June 1889 more than the required number of names had been secured and the Commissioners made a two cent levy. In June 1892 a number of designs were submitted and one was selected.

The monument as it appears completed is a beautiful piece of work. At its base it is twenty-five feet square. It

stands fifty-one feet in height, and is constructed of Vermont granite. It is surmounted by a color bearer in bronze, and on the four sides are large bronze plates representing scenes of the war suggested by the famous speech of Colonel

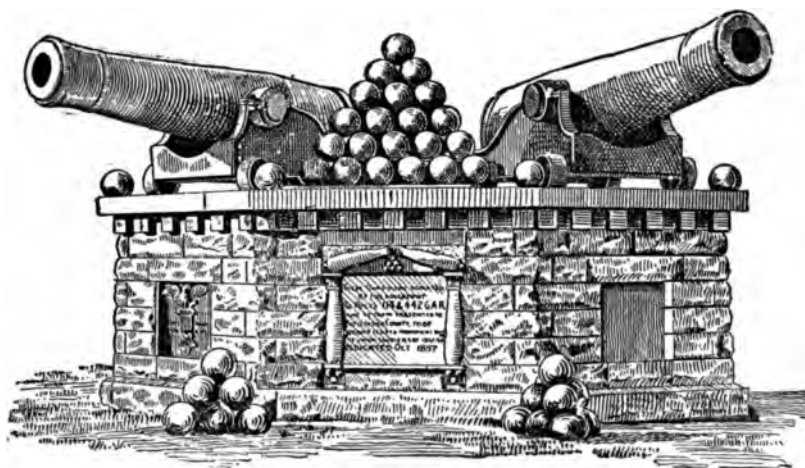


SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT DELPHI.

Robert G. Ingersoll at Indianapolis in 1876. On the east side of the base is the inscription, "Erected by Carroll County in Memory of her Soldiers and Sailors." On the east side of the shaft is a bronze badge of the Grand Army of the Republic, and chiseled in the granite, the words, "Antietam" and "Vicksburg." On the south side of the shaft is a bronze

badge of the Sons of Veterans, with "Shiloh" and "Stone River" chiseled in the granite. On the north side is the bronze seal of the Woman's Relief Corps, and "Champion Hill" and "Vicksburg," in the granite. On the west side is the seal of Indiana in bronze and the words "Cedar Creek" and "Wilderness." On each of the four corners of the base is a stack of arms.

The monument was dedicated July 27, 1893, under the auspices of Boothroyd Post, G. A. R. General William H. Gibson, the gifted orator of Ohio, delivered the dedicatory address. There are no inscriptions on the bronze plates, the imagination being left to recall the words of Colonel Ingersoll—the soldier bidding farewell to wife, mother and sweetheart, his return home, etc. The monument stands on one corner of the Court House square. It cost \$15,000 and is considered one of the handsomest in the State.



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT WARSAW.

When the war closed the Government found itself in possession of a large number of captured cannon of various

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sizes. Most of them were condemned as being worthless for future use. Many of them have been given by the War Department to Grand Army posts throughout the country for use as decorations, or as trophies of the war. Two large Columbiads, which had been captured at Port Royal, South Carolina, were thus given to the Post at Warsaw. The Government delivered them at Warsaw, free of freight charges, and there they remained for some time, lying useless in the grounds around the court house. In 1897, however, the citizens of Warsaw took hold of the matter, and erected a bastion, or foundation, of Indiana stone, and mounted the guns thereon, where they now make a handsome and showy appearance.

For some years after the close of the war the question of erecting, at Indianapolis, a grand monument to commemorate the achievements of Indiana's citizen soldiery was agitated by the public press. Governor Morton had urged it in one or more of his messages, but the matter did not take shape until about 1880, when the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization composed of soldiers who had fought in the war, took it up, and raised quite a sum of money for that purpose. Finally, in 1887, the Legislature passed an act appropriating \$200,000 and the tract of ground in Indianapolis, known as the "Governor's Circle," was selected as the site of the monument. This piece of ground had been set apart, at the original platting of the city, for the use of the State on which to erect a residence for the Governor, but no such building had ever been erected. It lies in the heart of the city, at the intersection of Meridian and Market streets, and is about two hundred feet in diameter. Plans for the proposed structure were asked for,





STATE SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, INDIANAPOLIS.

and that submitted by Bruno Schmidt, of Berlin, Germany, was chosen, and the work of building at once began. The monument is built of Indiana stone. The corner stone was laid on the 22d day of August, 1889, with elaborate ceremonies. Among the distinguished guests present, were Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, and some of the members of his cabinet.

This crowning work, in commemorating the bravery and endurance of the citizen soldiery of Indiana is a work of art, and not like most other great shafts, an unsightly pile of brick or stone. Its design is artistic and beautiful, in every part, and its proportions symmetrical. The following are the dimensions of the structure:

Diameter of circle, including approaches.....	192 feet
Diameter of foundation and terrace.....	110 "
Diameter of base of terrace.....	68 "
Diameter of pedestal at base, including projections.	62 "
Diameter of pedestal proper, at base.....	40½ "
Diameter of pedestal proper at top.....	35 "
Diameter of base of shaft.....	32 "
Diameter of shaft at base.....	22½ "
Diameter of shaft at capital.....	12½ "
Diameter of lanterne.....	8 "
Height of terrace.....	11 "
Height of pedestal.....	59 "
Height of shaft.....	149 "
Height of lanterne.....	21 "
Height of statue on top of lanterne.....	28 "
Total height of monument and statue.....	268 "

The platform of the capital is reached by a spiral staircase and by an elevator. Just below the capital is a bronze astragal bearing the dates of the years of the war. Midway of the structure is another bronze astragal, emblematic of the navy, and further down is a third astragal, representing the army. On the east and west sides are carved groups representing peace and war. On the subordinate pedestals are beautiful candelabras. On the east and west sides, just beneath the sculptured groups are the largest artificial water fountains of the world. They are fed from driven wells, by engines capable of supplying about 20,000 gallons per minute. The water falls in beautiful cascades to a stone basin. This monument is dedicated to "Indiana's Silent Victors."

#### BRIG. GEN. PLEASANT A. HACKLEMAN.

The only General officer from Indiana killed in battle during the war of the Rebellion was Pleasant Adams Hackleman. General Hackleman was born on the fifteenth of November, 1814, in Franklin County, two years before Indiana was admitted into the Union. He grew to manhood with what few advantages surrounded the life of a pioneer. After his marriage he began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1837, removing to Rushville to practice his profession. He rose rapidly in his profession, and in popularity with the people. He served as Clerk of the Courts of Rush County from 1847 to 1855, having previously served a term or two in the State Legislature. He was a speaker of remarkable force, and was twice nominated by his party for Congress, but defeated both times. In 1861 he was appointed by Governor Morton one of the delegates to

the Peace Convention, at Washington. In May of that year he was appointed Colonel of the 16th Indiana Regiment, and immediately after the battle of Bull Run was ordered East with his regiment. In April, 1862, he was promoted to a Brigadier Generalship, and was ordered to report to General Halleck, then at Pittsburg Landing. He served with that army until he met his death, on the 3d of October, 1863. His brigade was hotly engaged with the enemy, when reinforcements came to his help. In swinging into line the reinforcements fell into confusion, and then broke. It was while attempting to rally them he met his death. When he fell he realized that his wound was fatal, and to those around him said: "If we are victorious, send my body home; if not, bury me on the field."

#### MAJOR GENERAL ROBERT H. MILROY.

One of the ablest and bravest soldiers produced by Indiana during the war of the Rebellion was Robert H. Milroy. He was a native of the State. He was very desirous, when a young man of securing a collegiate education, but his father refused to assist him. When he was about twenty-four years of age, while on a visit to Pennsylvania, he took advantage of the occasion and entered as a student in the Military School at Norwich, Vermont, where he graduated, taking the degrees of Master of Arts, Master of Military Science, and Master of Civil Engineering. After graduating he spent several months in teaching fencing. He then returned to Indiana, and from there drifted to Texas, which had just won its independence from Mexico. He did not remain there long, but returned to Indiana and began the study of law, intent on pursuing that profession as a voca-

tion. When the war with Mexico came he was among the first to enlist, and became a Captain in the 1st Indiana regiment. When the term of service of his regiment expired he made many efforts to get the Government to receive his company as an independent organization, but failed. For the next few years he practiced law. He was among the first to see that the political agitation of 1860 would result in civil war and organized a military company at his home in Rensselaer; when President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops he was among the first to tender his services. He was at once appointed, by Governor Morton, Colonel of the 9th Indiana regiment. With this regiment he went to West Virginia, and took part in all the movements of that campaign, under Generals McClellan and Morris. He and his gallant regiment won for themselves a name for being ever ready for a fight or for any other duty.

He served through the three months' service and returned home, to recruit his regiment for three years. In September, 1861, he was made a Brigadier General, and again assigned to duty in West Virginia. He served for some time in the Cheat Mountain country, under Generals Rosecrans, Banks and Fremont. He there won the title of the "Gray Eagle," of the army. He fought with great gallantry in numerous engagements. In 1862 General Milroy commanded a brigade under Pope in his disastrous campaign in the Valley, and was present taking active part, in most of the battles fought in that campaign. In November of that year he was made a Major General of Volunteers, being one of the three officers of that rank from Indiana.

In 1863 he found himself in command at Winchester. Hooker was confronting Lee at Fredericksburg. After the fatal battle of Chancellorsville, Lee started on his way to







MAJ.-GEN. JOSEPH J. REYNOLDS.



MAJ.-GEN. ROBERT H. MILROY.



BRIG.-GEN. PLEASANT A. HACKLEMAN.



LIEUT.-COMMANDER WILLIAM GWIN.



ADMIRAL GEORGE BROWN.

invade Pennsylvania. Winchester and Milroy were in his path. Hooker neglected to give notice to Milroy of the movements of the Confederates, and Halleck also failed to warn him. Suddenly he learned through his own scouts that the main army of the Confederates was bearing down upon him. Their advance had been skillfully made, but Milroy was alert enough to get out of Winchester. On his retreat he fought a terrific engagement with the enemy, and attained success at first, but finally was overwhelmed. His men scattered in almost complete rout.

The next year he found himself in the West, and when Hood was marching to attack Thomas at Nashville, Milroy badly defeated the Confederate General Bate. He served until the close of the war.

#### JOSEPH J. REYNOLDS.

The second Brigadier General appointed from Indiana during the war of the Rebellion, was Joseph J. Reynolds, who was also of the three Major Generals appointed from the State. General Reynolds was a Kentuckian by birth, having been born at Flemingsburg, in that State, January 4, 1822. He was educated in the common schools of that place, until his parents removed to Lafayette, Indiana. He then entered Wabash College, but before he graduated, he was appointed a cadet to West Point, on the recommendation of Hon. Albert S. White. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1843, in the same class with General Grant. He was assigned to the 4th artillery, and served in Texas, in 1845. He was transferred to the 3d artillery, and in 1847 was promoted to First Lieutenant and appointed Assistant Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, at

West Point. He served in this position until 1855. He was then stationed in the Indian Territory, but resigned in 1857, to accept the chair of Mechanical Engineering in Washington College, St. Louis. In 1860 he returned to Lafayette and went into business with a brother. When the war came he was among the first to tender his services to Governor Morton, and was made Colonel of the Tenth Regiment, but on the 10th of May was commissioned a Brigadier General of Volunteers, by President Lincoln. He was assigned to duty in West Virginia. There he fought and defeated General Robert E. Lee, and drove him from the State. He served with distinction until January, 1862, when business matters made it necessary for him to resign. He returned to Lafayette, and devoted himself to a speedy settlement of his business affairs, when he again tendered his services to the Government. In September, 1862, he was again appointed a Brigadier General, and two months later was promoted to a Major Generalcy. He was assigned to duty with the army of the Cumberland, and was with that army in its numerous marches and battles. At the battle of Chickamauga he commanded the fourth division of General Thomas' corps, and fought with conspicuous gallantry.

When General Thomas was put in command of the Army of the Cumberland, General Reynolds became his Chief of Staff. A short time later he was sent to New Orleans, and placed in command at that point. While there, in connection with General Canby, a plan was laid to attack Mobile. While the troops were on board the vessels, ready to begin the movement against Mobile, orders were received from General Grant, to send the 19th corps, the one Reynolds commanded, to Fortress Monroe. About seventeen thousand of the corps, who were already on board of vessels,

were dispatched with all haste to Virginia, and arrived in time to proceed to Washington, and save it from capture by Early. That part of the corps took part in all the battles of Sheridan in the Valley. General Reynolds remained in the Southwest, and was placed in command of other troops in the field. In November, 1864, he was placed in command of the Department of Arkansas, and remained in command of the department until April, 1866, when he was mustered out of the volunteer service, and appointed a Colonel in the regular army, being assigned to the 26th infantry. At the same time he was brevetted a Brigadier General, in the regular army, for distinguished services at Chattanooga, and the same day was brevetted a Major General, for services at Mission Ridge. From 1867 to 1872 he commanded the military district composed of Louisiana and Texas. While holding this command he was offered by Texas a seat in the United States Senate, but declined. He was afterward assigned to duty in the Department of the Platte, where he remained until 1877 when he was retired from the service.

#### EDWARD R. S. CANBY.

High among the honored names in the war of the Rebellion was that of Edward R. S. Canby. To him Indiana has a right to lay claim. General Canby was born in Kentucky, in 1818, but removed with his parents, to Indiana, when he was but a child. He was appointed to West Point, in 1835, and graduated in 1839. He took an active and honorable part in the Mexican war. He was promoted to a Captaincy, in 1851, and was made a Major in 1858. He was a Colonel in 1861 when the war broke out. At that time he was in New Mexico, and at once set about organizing the militia, and

took such active steps that he saved New Mexico to the Union. By February, 1862, he had collected a few thousand volunteers, and a small force of regulars, at Fort Craig, on the Rio Grande River. There he was attacked by two thousand Texas Rangers, under the command of General Sibley, and a bloody battle took place, which resulted in a decided victory for the Union forces. For this service he was made a Brigadier General, and afterwards was promoted to Major General of Volunteers. In May, 1864, he relieved General Banks as commander of the Department of the Gulf, and all the troops in the trans-Mississippi district were placed under his orders. In connection with General Reynolds, who was in command at New Orleans, he planned an attack upon Mobile. Just at the time the troops were embarking on the expedition against Mobile, a large part of them, consisting of the major portion of the Nineteenth Corps, were ordered to City Point. This forced a postponement of the attack on Mobile, but General Canby kept it constantly in view, and in 1865 effected the capture, in conjunction with Admiral Farragut. This capture has always been regarded as one of the most brilliant victories of the war, and it was largely due to the soldiery abilities of General Canby.

Not long after this event, General Dick Taylor, in command of the Confederate troops in that district, surrendered his forces to General Canby. This surrender carried with it about all of the Confederate troops remaining after the surrender of Lee and Johnston. At the close of the war General Canby was placed in command of the Military District of North and South Carolina, and afterwards of the Department of the Gulf. His administration, in those troublous times, was firm, yet conciliatory, and met with

the approval of General Grant. His last service was on the plains against the Modoc Indians. He was in command of the forces sent against those tribes, at the outbreak of hostilities in 1873. He had driven them to the lava beds of the mountains, when they asked for a consultation, with a view to a surrender. General Canby was warned against treachery, but with two or three officers advanced to meet the Indians, when they were fired upon, and General Canby slain. His death occurred April 11, 1873. General Canby was regarded as the best read man on military law in the army, and was counted an authority upon all such subjects.

#### GENERAL JEFF. C. DAVIS.

In the War of the Rebellion the most brilliant soldier from Indiana was General Jeff. C. Davis. He was born in Clark County, Indiana, March 2, 1825. When the war with Mexico came he was pursuing his law studies, but he at once abandoned them and enlisted in the Second Indiana Regiment, under command of Colonel Joseph Lane. For gallant services at the battle of Buena Vista, he was made Second Lieutenant in the First United States Artillery. He served with distinction, and became known as one of the bravest of the young officers in that war. In 1852 he was promoted to First Lieutenant in the same service. He was at Fort Sumter, with Major Anderson, when that fort was bombarded by the soldiers of South Carolina, and was there at the surrender. Almost immediately afterwards he was commissioned Captain, and Governor Morton appointed him Colonel of the Twenty-second Regiment of Indiana Volunteers. This regiment he led into Missouri, and commanded a brigade under Fremont, Hunter and Pope. He soon became

known as a fighting officer. He commanded a division at the battle of Pea Ridge, and displayed the most conspicuous gallantry, as well as ability as a General. At Milford, Missouri, he captured a superior force of the enemy, and was made a Brigadier General. He took part in the siege of Corinth. When Bragg and Kirby Smith invaded Kentucky, he was sent to that State. While at Louisville he had an unfortunate altercation with General William Nelson, and killed him in the Gault House. He was never tried for the offense, but it is possible the occurrence delayed his deserved recognition in the way of promotion.

With his old division of the Twentieth Corps, he led the advance of the right wing of Rosecrans' army on the Stone River campaign, and in a fight at Knob's Gap, drove Bragg from his position. At the battle of Stone River he displayed his wonted gallantry. The attack on Johnson's division, by the Confederates, was so sudden and overpowering that the whole division was forced to give way. This exposed Davis' flank, and on him the victorious enemy fell with overpowering numbers, but there they met with a more determined opposition, and Davis was only forced back by slow degrees, contesting every inch of ground with the utmost stubbornness. At Chickamauga he resisted successfully, for several hours, on the first day of that memorable battle, a superior force of the enemy, thereby foiling Bragg's plan, and giving Rosecrans time to unite his army in a more compact form. The fighting was of the most severe character for several hours, and the loss heavy. He also took part in the battles fought under Grant around Chattanooga, and was then sent with Sherman to the relief of Knoxville. On the Atlanta campaign he had command of the Fourteenth Corps, having been brevetted Major General. He captured

Rome, with an immense amount of stores, and a number of cannon. He made the assault on Kenesaw, and while the assault failed as a whole, Davis got a position near to the works of the enemy and fortified and held it against all odds. At Jonesboro, he made the most brilliant and successful assault on fortified works made by either army in the Atlanta campaign. In this assault he was completely successful. In command of the Fourteenth Corps he went with Sherman to Savannah, and then northward through the Carolinas.

When Johnston made his last desperate attempt to stem the tide of disaster, which was sweeping over the Confederate armies, and to destroy Sherman's army in detail, it was upon Davis' Corps the blow fell at Bentonville. Never did troops fight more gallantly, and never were they handled more skillfully than at Bentonville. Johnston failed, and failed because of the gallantry of the Fourteenth Corps, and the skill of its commander. General Davis was made Colonel of the Twenty-third United States Infantry. After the close of the war he served in California and the West against the Indians. When General Canby was assassinated by the Modoc Indians, General Davis took command and forced the hostiles to surrender. He died in Chicago, November 30, 1879.

#### LIEUTENANT COMMANDER WILLIAM GWIN.

It was not in the army alone that Indiana won honor during the war. Among the early victims offered on the altar of the country was Lieutenant Commander William Gwin. Lieutenant Gwin was born at Columbus, Bartholomew County, December 5, 1832. After attending St. Xavier's



College at Cincinnati, and St. Xavier's College, Vincennes, in 1847 he was appointed a cadet in the Naval School at Annapolis. In 1852 he successfully passed his examination and was promoted to Passed Midshipman, and in 1855 to Master, and on the following day to Lieutenant. He served with various commanders, and in many parts of the world. While serving on the *Vandalia* he was sent with a detachment of sailors and marines to visit one of the Feejee Islands for the purpose of searching for some shipwrecked American seamen. Finding that all but one of the sailors had been murdered by the islanders, he was sent to demand reparation. He had with him a force of sixty. In approaching the principal village of the island he fell into an ambuscade and was attacked by about five hundred of the natives. Lieutenant Gwin at once charged upon the enemy, killing seventy of them, when the others threw down their arms and surrendered.

During his sea service he visited the Holy Land, and many places in the East, and France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Naples and Greece. In 1861 he was executive officer of the *Susquehanna*, on duty in the Mediterranean. His ship was ordered home on the breaking out of the war. Nearly all the other officers were Southerners, and they used every effort to seduce Lieutenant Gwin from his allegiance to the Union, but signally failed. On the arrival of the *Susquehanna* at Boston, the other officers resigned and went South. He was put in command of the *Cambridge* and ordered to join the Atlantic blockading squadron. He rendered valuable service, especially in keeping the Rappahannock River open to Fredericksburg, destroying several batteries and capturing many prisoners. In 1862, at his own request, he was ordered to join the Mississippi flotilla,

under command of Commodore Foote. He was given the command of the wooden gunboat Tyler, and took an active part in the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson. A short time after the surrender of Donelson he made a daring reconnoissance up the Tennessee River, capturing a Confederate gunboat, a transport, and a large amount of other property, and many prisoners.

When Grant was engaged in his deadly struggle at Shiloh, Lieutenant Gwin, with his gunboat, in conjunction with Lieutenant Commander Shirk, in command of the Lexington, moved up and down the river anxiously waiting an opportunity to open their batteries on the enemy. Finally the opportunity came. The Confederates reached a point where the guns of the two gunboats would be effective, and the batteries opened. Grant's chief of artillery had massed several guns at an available point and the high tide of Confederate success was reached. All through the night the gunboats kept dropping their immense shells amid the forces of the enemy. His next service was in Yazoo Pass, in August, 1862. He was still in command of the wooden gunboat Tyler. In conjunction with the Carondolet and Queen of the West he was ordered on an expedition up the Yazoo. He had proceeded but a short distance when he met the Confederate iron-clad ram, Arkansas. He immediately gave battle, but his two consorts failed to support him. He made a running fight of fourteen miles with the enemy, and his vessel was fairly riddled with balls. In December, 1862, in command of the Benton, he was ordered, with several other vessels, up the Yazoo to attack the batteries at Haines' Bluff. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon the batteries opened their fire. Commander Gwin, with the Benton, took position nearest the enemy and moored his vessel to the

bank. For more than an hour, while the other vessels were getting into position, the Benton stood the fight alone. Having given the range and elevation of his guns, Lieutenant Gwin went on deck to observe the effect of the shots. While standing with both arms raised, holding his glass to his eyes, he was struck by a round shot obliquely on the breast. He was soon after moved to the hospital on the flag ship of the squadron, where he lingered for a week before his death. Lieutenant Gwin was ranked as one of the bravest and best of the naval officers, and had not death cut short his career would soon have reached the highest grade in the navy.

#### NAPOLEON COLLINS.

Among the distinguished officers of the navy during the War of the Rebellion was Napoleon Collins, a citizen of Indiana. He was a native of Pennsylvania, but was appointed to the navy from Indiana, in 1834. He served on several of the war vessels of the country, and in almost all seas, passing through the various grades. He was a Passed Midshipman in 1840, Lieutenant in 1846, Commander in 1862. When the War of the Rebellion broke out, many of the officers of the navy sided with the South, but Lieutenant Collins remained true to the Union, and was employed on many important expeditions. In 1864 he was in command of the Wachusett, and was cruising along the coast of Brazil, watching for the Confederate steamer Florida. The Florida and her sister ship, Alabama, had done great damage to American shipping. They had been permitted to sail into and out of neutral ports, in all parts of the world, without any effort at detention. They had even been furnished with supplies, at some of the ports, in direct violation of the laws

of nations. At Fernando de Noronha, the Alabama had taken three American ships into port, rifled them of such stores and cargo as were needed by the cruiser, and then burned them, within gunshot of the fort, without interference or protest by the authorities of Brazil. Commander Collins determined that if he came across either the Florida or the Alabama he would either capture or sink them, if he had to do it in neutral waters. On the 6th of October, 1864, while his vessel was lying in the port of Bahia, Brazil, the Florida steamed into port and took a position about a half mile from the Wachusett's berth. Immediately after her arrival, a Brazilian corvette took position between the two vessels.

The Florida received permission, from the Brazilian authorities, to remain in port for forty-eight hours. Commander Collins determined to destroy or capture her before the time of departure. About daybreak, on the morning of the 7th, he got under way and crossed the bow of the Brazilian vessel. It was his intention to run the Florida down and sink her at anchor, but the plan miscarried. He struck her on the starboard quarter, doing considerable damage, but did not disable her. A few pistol shots were fired from the Florida, which were replied to by a volley of small arms, and a discharge from two of the large guns of the Wachusett. The Florida then surrendered. The Brazilian vessel made no attempt to interfere, except to send a protest to Commander Collins. The Florida was towed out of the harbor, and Collins sailed for the United States, with his prize. The capture was effected in neutral waters, and was a violation of international law, and, on receiving the protest of the Brazilian Government, the United States promptly disavowed the act, and ordered the Florida to be

returned to Brazil. However, in a collision with a transport, in Hampton Roads, the famous Confederate cruiser was sunk. The United States Government claimed that the sinking was an accident, but the impression prevailed that it was an accident brought about with the full knowledge of the commander of the transport. While the Government disavowed the act of Commander Collins, it was cordially approved by the people of this country, and no open censure was ever passed upon the commander of the Wachusett by the Government. In 1866 Mr. Collins was promoted to a Captaincy, and in 1871 was made a Commodore, and a Rear Admiral in 1874. He died in 1876.

#### ADMIRAL GEORGE BROWN.

Indiana has furnished one head of the navy of the United States. George Brown was born in Indiana, June 19, 1835. He obtained his education in the schools of the neighborhood, until in 1849, when at the age of fourteen he was appointed a cadet in the navy. His first service was in the Mediterranean, and in 1856 he was made a Passed Midshipman. He was then rapidly passed to Master and Lieutenant, receiving all three appointments the same year. He served in the Brazilian fleet, and on the coast of Africa until the breaking out of the war, when he was called home and assigned to service with the Mortar fleet, and afterward to the Atlantic blockading squadron, where he won considerable distinction as an energetic and faithful officer. When the gunboat fleet was organized for service on the Mississippi River, he was among the naval officers who were transferred to that scene of duty. He was with the fleet at Vicksburg, and commanded the *Indianola*, in her desperate fight

against two Confederate iron clads, and two cotton-protected steamers. After a gallant resistance of more than an hour the Indianola was forced to surrender to the four hostile vessels. Lieutenant Commander Brown was severely wounded in that engagement, and remained a prisoner for several months.

After his exchange he was appointed to the command of the Itasca, and in 1864 was in the battle of Mobile Bay. He also took an active part in the siege of Mobile, in 1865. He was made a Commander in 1866. After the close of the war he served for awhile as commander of the Norfolk Navy Yard. When the Japanese Government purchased from the United States the Confederate ram, Stonewall, Commander Brown, as agent of the Japanese Government, took command of that vessel. He was then on duty at Boston for some time. In 1877 he was appointed a Captain, and assigned to the Pacific Squadron, from which he was once more transferred to the Norfolk Navy Yard. In 1887 he was made a Commodore and placed in command of the Pacific Squadron, where he remained until 1893, when he was promoted once more, this time reaching the rank of Rear Admiral, and on the retirement of Admiral Ramsey he became the ranking Admiral of the navy. He was placed upon the retired list in 1897. In every sphere of duty, in his long service of nearly fifty years, he met the expectations of his superior officers, and of the Government, and earned all his promotions by merit.

#### BREVET MAJOR GENERAL ALVIN P. HOVEY.

Among the gallant soldiers of Indiana who won special distinction in the service was Brevet Major General Alvin P. Hovey. He was a born soldier. Indiana was his native

State, he having been born in Posey County, where he lived all his life. Law was his profession, and he stood high, both as a practitioner and as a Judge. Politically he affiliated with the Democratic party until about the close of the War of the Rebellion. He was a Lieutenant in a company recruited for service in the Mexican War. His first civil office was that of Judge of the Circuit Court, and was afterward appointed a member of the Supreme Court, and was at one time United States District Attorney for the District of Indiana. In all these positions he served with conspicuous ability.

When the War of the Rebellion came it found him practicing his profession. He at once began shaping his business affairs that he might enter the service. Governor Morton, early in 1861, appointed him Colonel of the Twenty-fourth regiment. Having received a military education he was already familiar with the theoretical part of war, and it was not long after his appointment that he had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the practical part of a soldier's duty. He was at the battle of Shiloh, and there handled his regiment with rare skill, it being a part of Wallace's division. For his services on that glorious field he was made a Brigadier General. He was at the siege of Corinth, and then served with the Army of the Tennessee under Grant. When General Grant left Memphis he placed General Hovey in command at that place. General Hovey was one of those who believed that rebellion was treason and that treason ought to be put down, hence his rule at Memphis was of that rigid character which always offended the South. A great outcry was raised against him, but when General Sherman succeeded to the command that distinguished officer endorsed all that General Hovey had done.

For some time he served in Arkansas, and was engaged in several conflicts with the enemy, in all of which he added to his fame as a soldier and a strict disciplinarian. When General Grant began his preparations to swing around to the rear of Vicksburg, and attempt to take that stronghold from that side, General Hovey, with his division, was called to reinforce Grant's army. His division did much of the heavy fighting from the time Grant crossed the Mississippi River until he finally closed in on the Confederate stronghold. From Bruinsburg to Vicksburg, Hovey's division lost more men in killed and wounded, and captured more prisoners and material of war than any other division of Grant's army. In fact, its losses and its captures nearly equaled those of all the rest of the army. It was his division which bore the brunt of the fighting at Champion Hill. Grant had driven his army between the forces of Johnston and Pemberton. Johnston had been vainly endeavoring to have Pemberton move so that the two forces might be united, but he had delayed the movement too long. At last, on the evening of the 15th day of May, 1863, he started to try and effect a junction with Johnston. Grant was endeavoring to force him back on Vicksburg. Early on the morning of the 16th, Hovey, who had the advance on one of the roads occupied by Grant's troops, struck Pemberton, who was strongly posted on a series of low hills. He at once began skirmishing, and for three or four hours the skirmishing was kept up, sometimes almost amounting to a severe battle. General McPherson, who was following Hovey, realizing the situation sent word back to Grant, suggesting that he come as soon as possible to the field. In the meantime he was pushing two of his divisions forward to the help of Hovey.

By the time General Grant got to the field the skirmish-



ing had grown into a desperately contested battle, of which Hovey's division was bearing the brunt. General Grant was one of those commanders who refrain from interfering where their subordinates are doing well, so on his arrival, instead of taking command himself, left Hovey to direct the fighting while he hurried up reinforcements. Hovey, for a long time was struggling against desperate odds. While he was thus contending with a superior force, two of the other divisions of his corps were in sound of the battle, and could have reached him in less than an hour, but failed to do so. General Grant had left Hovey, and gone to another part of the field, and found Logan, with his division, across the only road of retreat left to the Confederates. Hovey again asked for reinforcements, and General Grant ordered Logan to move to his help. Just about this time Hovey had been reinforced, and made several desperate assaults on the enemy, one of them being successful, and Pemberton was soon hurrying on toward Vicksburg. Of this battle, and the action of General McClernand, General Grant, in his Memoirs, says:

"McClernand, with two divisions, was within a few miles of the battlefield long before noon, and in easy hearing. I sent him repeated orders by staff officers fully competent to explain to him the situation. These traversed the woods separating us, without escort, and directed him to push forward; but he did not come. It is true, in front of McClernand there was a small force of the enemy posted in a good position behind a ravine obstructing his advance; but if he had moved to the right by the road my staff officers had followed the enemy must either have fallen back or been cut off. Instead of this he sent orders to Hovey, who belonged to his corps, to join onto his right flank. Hovey was bear-

ing the brunt of the battle at the time. To obey the order he would have had to pull out from the front of the enemy and march back as far as McClelland had to advance to get into battle, and substantially over the same ground. Of course I did not permit Hovey to obey the order of his immediate superior.

"We had in this battle about 15,000 men absolutely engaged. This excludes all of McClelland's command except Hovey. Our loss was 410 killed, 1,844 wounded and 187 missing. Hovey alone lost 1,200 killed, wounded and missing, more than one-third of his division.

"Had McClelland come up with reasonable promptness, or had I known the ground as I did afterwards, I cannot see how Pemberton could have escaped with any organized force. As it was he lost over 3,000 killed and wounded and about three thousand captured in the battle and pursuit."

Just before his assassination, President Lincoln appointed General Hovey Minister to Peru, an office which he held until 1870, when he resigned and returned to Indiana. In 1886 he was nominated by the Republicans and elected to Congress from the first district. Two years afterward he was nominated and elected Governor, dying during his term of office.

#### BRIGADIER GENERAL NATHAN C. KIMBALL.

The Union armies during the great struggle for the life of the Nation, were recruited from all ranks of the people. The professional man, the merchant, the banker, the mechanic, the farmer and the laborer, alike offered themselves to defend the cause of the Union. Among those who volunteered from Indiana, was Nathan C. Kimball, a physi-

cian of Loogootee. He was a graduate of Asbury University. During the Mexican War he commanded a company in the Second Indiana regiment, and was at the battle of Buena Vista, where he won great praise for rallying his company after the regiment broke, and returning with it to the battle where it fought without flinching during the rest of the day. Colonel Bowles, who commanded the regiment demanded a Court of Inquiry. After the close of the court, when the Colonel appeared at dress parade of the regiment, Captain Kimball refused to permit his company to be inspected by him, and marched it off the parade ground. For this he was arrested and tried, but his sword was returned to him in a very short time. When all Indiana was rushing forward to defend the Union, Dr. Kimball was appointed Colonel of the fourteenth regiment, and soon was in West Virginia with his men.

In March 1862 he was with Shields and Banks at Winchester, and on the 23d defeated Stonewall Jackson, in a hotly contested battle. In McClellan's futile campaign on the Peninsula, General Kimball commanded a brigade. He also served under Pope. On the last night of the retreat of Pope's army, Kimball was in the rear with his brigade, when he discovered that by the neglect of an officer, the fourteenth Indiana had been left behind on picket duty, not having been notified of the retreat. General Kimball immediately went back and brought off the regiment safely, while the enemy was on all sides of him. At the battle of Antietam Kimball fought with desperate bravery, for two hours contending with the foe. His ammunition failed, but his men supplied themselves from their dead and wounded comrades. He repulsed several charges and made a counter-charge in which he captured there hundred prisoners.

At Fredericksburg, when General Sumner prepared to storm the heights, General Kimball's brigade was given the advance. The story of how French and Hancock suddenly ran against a stonewall fairly alive with sharpshooters, and bristling with cannon, has often been told, and how the Union troops clung to the advance. It was death to advance, death to retreat, and death to remain. The Union soldiers threw themselves on the ground to hide from the terrible storm of shot. When the battle was over, the dead and wounded of Kimball's brigade were found nearer that stonewall than any other of the Union troops. In this battle General Kimball was desperately wounded. On recovering from his wound General Kimball was ordered to report to General Grant, and was placed in command of a brigade in Hurlbut's division. He was with Grant at Vicksburg, and followed Sherman to Atlanta. In that campaign his brigade was one of those engaged in that terrible but futile assault at Kenesaw. General Kimball served until August 1865, when he was mustered out as a Brevet Major General.

#### MRS. ELIZA E. GEORGE.

Men were not the only heroes during the war, nor were they the only sacrifices offered. All over Indiana were heroic wives, who, while their husbands were out fighting the battles of the country, were at home, caring for their children, amid poverty, and hardships as heavy as those of the soldiers in the field. There are many women in Indiana who to-day, are as deserving of a pension as any of those who are on the roll, for they gave their strength to the cause of the Union, just as much as did their husbands at the front. Had not their husbands been at the front, those heroic wives

would have been shielded from the hardships which they were compelled to undergo, and which finally sapped their strength and left them physical invalids. Had their devotion not been so great, they would not have been such sufferers. No history of their toils and sufferings can be given, nor can the story of the bravery and devotion of many wives who followed their husbands to the field and gave their time to the care and attendance of the sick and wounded—all without compensation. In nearly every camp where Indiana troops were found, those volunteer nurses could also be found. They bore privation and hardship with the same cheerful devotion as the soldiers themselves.

While the troops were in the field the women of Indiana were busy in preparing all things needful for their comfort. The boat loads of hospital stores, bandages, sheets, pillow-slips, dressing gowns, fruit and other delicacies, which were sent to the front, amply testify to the love, the devotion, the patriotism of the women of Indiana. At one time or another temporary hospitals were established at different points in the State, and there the nursing was always done by volunteers from the ranks of the patriotic women. At Indianapolis they established a home, for the care of the wives of soldiers who were in temporary need of shelter. At this home hundreds were fed, housed and cared for. The women were the main leaders in the work of raising supplies for the Sanitary Commission, and it was their labor which operated the many Sanitary Fairs.

Among the heroic souls who laid down their lives for their country in that great struggle, no one is more worthy of mention than Mrs. Eliza E. George, of Fort Wayne. She was just as much a martyr to the cause as was anyone who gave his life on the battlefield, or who died in the hospital.

Her name ought never be forgotten. Leaving her home, in 1862 she went to the front, to care for the sick and wounded, to cheer and comfort the dying, and strengthen, by her motherly and patriotic example, the living. "Mother George" was she called by the soldiers. So gentle, so loving, so attentive to all their wants, so patient with the sick and wounded, she was indeed a mother to those who fell under her ministrations. She joined the army in the West, and was at Nashville, Memphis, and on the Atlanta campaign. She carried comfort and cheer with her. Often worn out and weary, sleeping without shelter, and no covering but an army blanket, she bore all the hardships without a murmur, and was never too weary to care for a sick soldier, or pray with a dying one. When Sherman started on his grand march to the sea, Mrs. George did not forsake "her boys," but went along on that wonderful campaign. She was the same amid danger and horrors. On more than one occasion, while she would be administering to the wounded, the balls or shells of the enemy would kill those around her, but she escaped unharmed, until just as the war was about over, when Lee had surrendered, and Johnston had laid down his arms, she died, away off in North Carolina, from typhoid fever, engendered by her exposure in caring for the wounded.

Her remains were brought back to Fort Wayne, and there the patriotic citizens have erected a handsome monument to her memory. It is of polished white marble, bearing on one side a graphic picture of the horrors of war. It is a scene near Kenesaw Mountain, where Mrs. George was very active in her labors of love. A wounded soldier sits near a hospital tent, leaning against a tree, with his cup and canteen by his side. Over the fire are the camp-kettle and coffee

pot. The nurse is passing from the fire, with a cup of smoking coffee, to the soldier who extends his hand to receive it. On the north front of the monument is the following inscription:

**"MRS. ELIZA E. GEORGE.**

**"Born at Bridgeport, Vermont, October 20, 1808,  
"Died at Wilmington, North Carolina, May 9, 1865."**

**"After faithfully aiding with her friendly hands, and cheering with her Christian and motherly voice, the sick and wounded soldiers of our army on the march, on the battlefield and in the hospital, for over three years, the heroine fell at her post, honored and loved by all who knew her."**

**GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.**

General Grant was not an Indiana soldier, but was such a prominent figure during the war, and as at one time or another, nearly, if not quite all the soldiers of Indiana, directly served under him, a sketch of him will not be out of place. When he was in command of the Army of the Tennessee, a large part of that army was composed of Indiana troops. When he succeeded Rosecrans, he still kept the command of those who had served with him, but thousands of other Indiana troops came under his personal command. When he was made Commander-in-Chief all troops were under his orders, but only a few Indiana organizations were in the Army of the Potomac, which he directly commanded until the close of the struggle.

He was born in Ohio, appointed as a cadet to West Point from that State, and therefore Ohio claims him. When he left the army and retired to private life, he first established

himself in Missouri, but later removed to Illinois, where he was at the breaking out of the war. For this Illinois claims him. He was born April 27, 1822, at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio. He attended the schools of the neighborhood until he was seventeen years of age, when he was appointed a cadet at West Point. After graduating from that institution he served in Missouri and Texas, until the war with Mexico. In that war he several times distinguished himself by daring actions, and received several promotions. By the close of the war he had reached the rank of Captain, and was assigned to duty in the West, where he served for several years, until finally, disgusted with army life in a time of peace, he resigned, and began the life of a farmer near St. Louis. It was very soon apparent that he was a decided failure as a farmer, and he tried the real estate business in St. Louis, but there also failed. He sought several small appointments, but did not get any of them. In 1860 he went to Galena, Illinois, to clerk for his brothers, who were operating a leather store at that place. His salary was to be \$50 per month, with a prospect of a raise if he did well.

When the war came he was engaged in that humble employment. He wanted to serve his country. He had been educated by the Government, and felt that it was entitled to his services. He sought a place, but no door seemed open. He wrote to the Adjutant General of the army, but his letter was never answered. He went to Cincinnati, to ask for a place on the staff of General George B. McClellan, but could not even get into the presence of that officer. He returned to his Galena home. He had been at Springfield, Illinois, previously, and had worked a few weeks as a clerk in the office of the State Adjutant General, assisting to make out



muster rolls for the volunteers. The State at that time had several regiments in its own service. Among those State troops was the twenty-first regiment. It was insubordinate, and refused to remain under the control of the Colonel. To this insubordinate regiment Mr. Grant was appointed. They had originally volunteered with the understanding that they were to go into the United States service, if any more troops were called for. The call came for three years, and this change of the period of enlistment they contended released them from their promise to enter the service. Just about this time John A. Logan visited the regiment and asked the privilege of addressing the men. Grant hesitated for some time, but gave his consent. Logan made a speech so full of patriotism and eloquence that at its close the regiment, almost to a man, volunteered for three years. It was thus General Grant got back into the service of the country.

He led his regiment to Missouri, and was soon appointed one of the Brigadier Generals from Illinois. At that time the policy of those who directed the Union armies was one of inactivity. They sought no battles, but shunned them whenever they could. Whenever a movement was made the universal charge given to the commander of the advance was to be careful and not bring on an engagement. The men were brave and willing, and were anxious for battle, but timidity was the ruling passion with the commanders. General Grant, from the very first believed that the only way to end the war was by fighting, and persistent fighting. He also believed the best training of the soldier was found on the march and on the battlefield, and not in the camp. He never fought in a battle that he did not command the forces. He and McClellan were the only two officers of the Union who were in command in every battle in which they

engaged. Hence the responsibility for the conduct of the battle was always on him. There is no evidence that he ever conducted a campaign except such as he had himself marked out. It is true, that during the forepart of the war Halleck was the Commander-in-Chief, yet there is nothing on record to show that Halleck ever mapped out a campaign for him, or even suggested one. He was always left to his own resources, and they never failed him.

He conducted the campaign against Holly Springs, and Vicksburg, and then defeated the Confederates at Mission Ridge, directing at the same time an expedition against General Longstreet, who was besieging Knoxville. In March, 1864, he was made Lieutenant General, and placed in command of all the armies of the Union. He took personal direction of the Army of the Potomac, but directed also the campaigns of Sherman, Canby and Steele, in the West, and Hunter and Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. He forced Lee to a surrender April 9, 1865, and immediately addressed himself to the task of disbanding the armies and returning them to a peace establishment. During the unfortunate controversy between President Johnson and Secretary Stanton, General Grant was called by the President to the head of the War Department. When the Senate refused to consent to the removal of Secretary Stanton, General Grant delivered the Department again to Mr. Stanton. He had some trouble with the President himself, over the status of those who had surrendered as prisoners of war, the President desiring to punish some of them through the civil courts. General Grant took the ground that according to the terms of the surrender they could not be molested for any action during the war, and that as commander of

the army he had the right to make such terms. President Johnson finally abandoned his position on the question.

In 1868 General Grant was nominated for President by the Republicans, and was elected, defeating Horatio Seymour, of New York. He was renominated in 1872, and was again elected, defeating Horace Greeley, of New York, who was the candidate of the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats. During his administration he settled the dispute between the United States and Great Britain, growing out of the depredations of the Confederate cruisers which had been fitted out in British ports, Great Britain paying an indemnity of \$15,000,000. After the expiration of his second term as President he made a tour of the world, and was everywhere received with the highest honors. No private citizen had every been so distinguished by the people of other nations. He died July 23, 1885, at Mount McGregor, New York.

END OF VOLUME I.







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